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Editorial

MEN WANTED

The scarcity of Latin teachers caused by the increased Latin enrollment in the high schools has been commented upon several times in these pages. But the scarcity is not alone one of high school teachers of Latin — there is a great dearth of really able men for college and university positions. The recent growth in number of Latin students in our colleges has quickened the demand for college professors. Furthermore, the attack on Latin in the colleges during the last twenty years — much more severe and telling than in the high schools — reduced the number of able men preparing themselves for teaching positions in our colleges. The number of young men of ability who might in the next ten or twenty years become the leading classical scholars in the country is alarmingly small. College professors of Latin should urge their best students to continue their Latin studies in the graduate school if they show promise of becoming good teachers and investigators and of developing strong personalities. Young men who have taught successfully for a few years and who feel that university teaching and investigation in Latin would appeal to them should by all means go on with graduate work. They need not hesitate for fear that no positions will be open to them. Nor should they think that the fields of research in Latin have been so thoroughly harvested that not a single grain remains to be gleaned. There is a vast amount of profitable and interesting work which remains to be done.

The high school teacher, too, should be on the lookout more particularly for boys who show promise in their Latin work. It

should be pointed out to them that if they are interested in their Latin they will find excellent opportunities in college and university teaching. Such advice is vocational guidance at its best. It should not be forgotten that to the Latinist who would go far in his subject, a thorough knowledge of Greek is a *sine qua non*. Anyone with the remotest idea of preparing himself to teach Latin in college or university should begin Greek as early as possible and should keep it up along with his Latin.

Now that we have spoken of high school teachers and university professors in the same breath, another matter may be touched upon briefly. University professors are sometimes supercilious about high school teaching — its scholarly inadequacy and its concessions to the exigencies of the situation in our schools. On the other hand, some high school teachers think of classical research as impractical and entirely remote from their interests. Both attitudes deserve rebuke. It is obvious that without strong, enthusiastic teaching of Latin in the schools in accordance with the best available methods and in harmony with the spirit of the age in which we live, there can be no graduate study of Latin. On the other hand, without the leaven of research, Latin teaching would soon degenerate into something flat and heavy. Research, with the facts which it discovers and the enthusiasm which it generates, keeps the teaching of any subject alive and vigorous. The high school teacher who lacks this stimulus is always in danger of making his teaching of Latin a mere mumbo jumbo, a repetition of and insistence on rules that have been learned over and over again. It is the business of the research worker literally to shock such a teacher by his heresies, by proving, e.g., that a vowel is not always long before gn, or that even the great Caesar, before whom the high school teacher too often bows down in worship even while he inwardly curses him, is not impeccable.

So then, let's all stand together, high school teacher, college professor, seminar conductor, for our one glorious cause. Let's all bend our energies toward supplying the demand for good Latin teachers in all our institutions — from the high school on up through the higher school of the college, to the highest school of the true university.

PIUS AENEAS

By NICHOLAS MOSELEY
Yale University

"Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
litora — multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multo quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio — genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" I, 1-11.

So in the very beginning of his poem Vergil points out to us that the hero is bearing his Gods to Latium, that he is a man *insignis pietate*, who is nevertheless harassed by the queen of the gods. In the last part of the poem when Juno has renounced her wrath and Jupiter is prophesying to her the future greatness of the Roman race, he says:

"hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget
supra homines supra ire deos pietate videbis,
nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores."

XII, 838-40.

Moreover in the course of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* Vergil applies to Aeneas the epithet *pius* fifteen times in the narrative, has the other characters refer to him as *pius*, *pietate insignis* or some equivalent expression eight times, and finally has Aeneas speak of himself twice as *pius*. So it is evident that the poet meant to impress the reader with this side of his hero's character.

How well he succeeded is known by all teachers who have had students object to Aeneas' piety, and have had to struggle to make their classes like the central figure of the poem. Even Conington, in his introduction to the *Aeneid*, says: "We are wearied, it must be confessed, by being continually reminded of his piety, though this may be partly due to our misapprehension of the epithet which was doubtless meant to be an Homeric one, attached to the name as a sort of prefix, and to be taken as a matter of course; but his piety is not merely nominal: it shows itself in his whole feeling and conduct toward the gods, his father and his son." Conington of course ignores the other side, the side which most young readers at least of the *Aeneid* notice — that there are many places in the poem where by modern standards the hero's actions are not in the least pious.

The main center of adverse criticism however has been on the lines:

"Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus." I, 378-9.

On account of these Aeneas has been considered by many unbearably conceited and a good deal of a prig. On the other hand he has been defended by many, notably Servius, Heyne, and Henry. The first has a naïf and amusing comment, which contains nevertheless a great deal of truth. He says: "*Sum pius Aeneas* is not in this place arrogance but information. For to say something about oneself to those who know one is arrogance, to those who do not, information. Moreover Vergil is certainly following the Homeric custom of heroes to whom it was as disgraceful to be silent about truths as it was to tell a lie. So Ulysses in Homer (*Odys.* A 29) says that his fame has reached even to heaven, whence comes the phrase *fama super aethera notus*. And certainly Vergil considered *pietas* to be *religio*. . . . Surely to be *pius* is to be pure and innocent and lacking all crime."

Heyne in an excursus on these lines (No. 12 to Bk. I) says that it is all right for Aeneas to call himself *pius* according to the heroic standard though not according to ours. He goes on to say that Vergil gives the epithet *pius* to Aeneas as in Homer to

each character there is joined its appropriate epithet. He adds that Aeneas was *pius in patrem, in filium, in patriam et in deos*; that in the last respect *pius in deos* the poet meant to call his hero *θεοσεβής*, or *religious*, which meaning is justified here by the relative clause.

Henry in his *Aeneidea* (Vol. I, 647), after pointing out rather aptly the parallel of the modern sovereign, who in signing public documents designates himself as "most gracious" and "defender of the faith," adds that the meaning of the epithet has been imperfectly understood and refers to his own note (on Bk. I, line 10) on *insignem pietate*. Here he has collected many examples to show that *pietas* might be used in relation to one's country, one's family, and one's fellow human beings; that it contained the ideas expressed by both of its English derivatives "pity" and "piety." In the former sense he says that it is the equivalent of the Greek *ἐνσέβεια*, in the latter sense of the Greek *θεοσέβεια*, and that it was the former virtue — pity — which Vergil wished to attribute to Aeneas. He ends his ten-page discussion thus: "The virtue therefore for which Aeneas was so remarkable, which it was the scope of Vergil's poem to recommend and inculcate by the example of his hero, was not piety or devotion, but *pietas*, or tenderness and brotherly love to mankind."

Heinze (*Vergil's Epische Technik*) says that Vergil took the characteristic *ἐνσέβεια* of Aeneas from his Greek sources and held to this alone of the early tradition. Later (p. 33) "More worth while than deeds of arms for Vergil was the deed of *pietas* — the saving of his father by Aeneas," and (p. 299) "Aeneas' greatness lies somewhat in his prowess but especially in his *pietas*, and this shows itself most clearly in the submission to the divine will — in the fall of Troy, in the loss of Creusa, in the separation from Dido." About the use of epithets he says (p. 278) "Vergil is not sparing in his use of characteristic epithets — *pius Aeneas*, *Mezentius contemptor divom*, *Messapus acer* — but he follows in their use the epic tradition; he does not beguile us with the epithets but holds himself to confirming them in the plot."

From these comments it is seen that there has been much criti-

cism in both ancient and modern times and that the main lines of defense have been the use of the phrase as a Homeric epithet and the meanings of the word *pius* and *pietas*, Servius saying that it meant religious, Heyne and Heinze giving it a somewhat broader significance and Henry a very wide one. It is the purpose of this paper to show that Servius was nearest to the meaning Vergil wished to convey when he used the words in connection with Aeneas — that he meant religious or devout, and moreover that he probably had a definite reason for assigning this meaning to it. First, however, it is necessary to consider the phrase used in accord with the heroic custom and as an epithet.

Heroic custom we know little about except from Homer, and it is certain that he makes his heroes speak with perfect frankness about their vices as well as their virtues, and that he does not hesitate to designate them in the narrative by their outstanding qualities. So much is this true that every one has a particular tag in his mind for every character of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and the phrase "Homeric epithet" has become a stock one. Vergil certainly had this in mind when he was describing the characters of his poem and there is very strong evidence that Vergil was following this tradition in his use of *pius Aeneas*. Fifteen out of the eighteen times it occurs it comes after a monosyllable in the beginning of the verse, as *tum pius Aeneas* or *at pius Aeneas*. Homer's epithets are almost all used in this way, and so have been rightfully characterized as metrically convenient.

Homer however was much more general and much less careful than Vergil in his use of epithets. Steele, in the sixth number of his *Tatler* (London, April 23, 1709), has an interesting note on this. He observes that Homer has "swift footed Achilles" sulking in his tent, and that Vergil never calls Aeneas *pius* where the appellation would have been improper. "Such a place," he said, "I think is his meeting with Dido in the cave, where *Pius Aeneas* would have been absurd, and *Pater Aeneas* a burlesque: the poet has therefore wisely dropped them both for *Dux Trojanus* . . . which he has repeated twice in Juno's speech, and in his own narration: for he very well knew a loose action might be consistent

enough with the usual manners of a soldier, though it became neither the chastity of a pious man, nor the gravity of the father of a people."

How careful Vergil was in applying his epithets will be seen from a brief study of his use of *pater*. This is first used about Aeneas by Ilioneus in his speech to Dido:

"Sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
pontus habet Libyac. . . .
regemque petamus Acesten."
I, 555

where it obviously means the leader of the Trojans. So twenty-five lines later, after Dido has welcomed the storm tossed fugitives, Vergil applies the epithet to Aeneas, picturing him trying to break out of his concealing cloud and take his rightful place. So in the beginning of Book II, where Aeneas, the leader and guardian of the strangers, begins to tell the tale of their wanderings, he is appropriately called *pater*. The most frequent occurrence of the combination is in the fifth book where Aeneas, as leader, is presiding over the games. There is one particularly splendid example of this meaning of *pater* used as an epithet, in Book IX:

". . . Instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus
quos pater Aeneas, si quando adversa vocarent,
rectores iuvenum et rerum dedit esse magistros." IX, 171

where Aeneas, absent on his journey to seek Evander's aid, has delegated his powers.

Only twice does *Pater Aeneas* mean specifically the "father of Iulus," and *Pater Anchises* means specifically "father of Aeneas," only three times. The relation of father and son is most usually expressed by the word *genitor*, and it seems as though Vergil was deliberately using the word *pater* about Anchises and Aeneas as he does about Jupiter *pater omnipotens*, the fatherly director and ruler of the universe.

The meaning of *pius* when used as an epithet is harder to deter-

mine than that of *pater*. To see what Vergil really meant it is necessary to consider the characterization of Aeneas in the sources from which he drew. Homer always emphasizes the descent of Aeneas from Jove and Aphrodite, and at least once mentions his observance of religious rite. In Book XX of the *Iliad* (297-298) Poseidon speaks of him:

"μὰψ ἔνεκ' ἄλλωτρίων ἀχέων κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ
δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν."

"Aeneas who rashly suffers for others and always gives most pleasing gifts to the gods who hold sway over the broad heaven." Later, after Poseidon has rescued him from Achilles, the son of Peleus says of him:

"ἦ ῥα καὶ Αἰνείας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
ἦεν . . ."

"Surely Aeneas was dear to the immortal gods."

Later Greek writers went even farther in this direction than Homer had, and were perhaps even more important in determining Vergil's choice of an epithet, for there is little in Homer about Aeneas and of course nothing in the *Iliad* about his escape from Troy or his later wanderings. Xenophon in his *de Venatione* (I, 15) has the following:

"Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδωσαν μὴ συληθῆναι."

"Aeneas saving his paternal and maternal gods and saving his father gave such an exhibition of piety that the enemy allowed him alone of all those whom they captured in Troy to escape." *Eusebeia* is here shown as an outstanding feature of Aeneas' character, and there is another indication that it was always so considered. Aelian, who, although he wrote in the second century, must have drawn from early Greek sources, describes Aeneas (*Varia Historia* III, 22) as follows:

"Ὅτε ἐάλω τὸ Ἴλιον, οἰκτεῖραντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὰς τῶν ἀλίσκομένων τύχας καὶ πᾶν Ἑλληνικῶς τοῦτο ἐκήρυξαν, ἕκαστον τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐν ᾧ τι καὶ βούλεται

τῶν οἰκείων ἀποφέρειν ἀράμενον. ὁ οὖν Αἰνείας τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς βαστάσας ἔφερεν, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν ἄλλων. ἡσθέντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ δεῦτερον αὐτῷ κτῆμα συνεχώρησαν λαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα πάνυ σφόδρα γεγηρακότα ἀναθέμενος τοῖς ὤμοις ἔφερεν. ὑπερεκπλαγέντες οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἤκιστα, πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκείων κτημάτων ἀπέστησαν, ὁμολογούντες ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγοντας καὶ οἱ φύσει πολέμοι ἡμεροὶ γίνονται.

When Troy was captured the Achaeans having the most pity of all the Greeks for the fate of the conquered made this announcement, that each one of the free men might pick up any one thing he wished of his private possessions and carry it out. Aeneas taking up his paternal gods carried them out, ignoring other things. The Greeks were so pleased at the piety of the man that they allowed him to remove another possession. He lifting his old father up on his shoulders took him out. Even more astounded by this they gave him all of his possessions, agreeing that even those who were enemies by nature were softened toward pious men who treated with respect the gods and their parents."

Similarly Apollodorus Atheniensis says (*Epitoma Vaticana* XXII, 19):

"Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίστην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσεβείαν εἴσαν."

"Aeneas carrying his father on his shoulders fled, and the Greeks allowed him to escape on account of his piety."

In all of these the saving of his father is given as an instance of Aeneas' εὐσέβεια, but this in itself as a charitable act was apparently considered as part of one's duty to the gods. The meaning which Henry wishes to give to it exclusively, "relation to men and things of this world" is an impossible one. It may have included charity as a part of religion, but Plato and Socrates do not seem to have understood even this. In the *Euthyphro* which Plato devotes to a discussion of the meaning of εὐσέβεια the actual definition is hidden in a maze of dialogue, but Heidel in his edition of the *Euthyphro* says (Introduction p. 21): "This then is the definition, 12 E:

Τὸ μέρος τοῦ δικαίου εἶναι εὐσεβές τε καὶ ὁσιον, τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν.

('piety and holiness is that part of justice which has to do with the service of the gods'). Socrates however calls attention to the vagueness of the term *θεραπεία* and *Euthyphro* substitutes *ὑπηρευτική* for it. Later on Socrates refers to it as *αὕτη ἡ ὑπηρεία τοῖς θεοῖς* ('actual ministration to the gods'). In this connection it should be noted that in all the above examples it is Aeneas' saving of the Penates which is most emphasized, and it is this point which the Latin writers before Vergil took over from the Greek.

All the evidence as to the content of writers about Aeneas before Vergil has been collected and discussed by Albrecht Forsterman (*Zur Geschichte der Aeneasmythus*, Magdeburg, 1894). A study of the material given in this book shows that Ennius, Cato, Cassius Hemina, L. Capurnius, Piso Censor, and Varro when writing about Aeneas, all emphasized his divine parentage and the fact that he had rescued the Penates from Troy and brought them to Italy. This tradition must have had an effect on Vergil and that he meant to convey the meaning of *εὐσεβεία* "ministration to the gods" when he designated Aeneas as *pius* or *pietate insignis* is shown by a study of the lines in which the words occur.

In the very beginning of the poem when Aeneas is first called *insignis pietate* it is in close relation to his carrying his gods to Latium, and nine of the fifteen times the epithet *pius* is applied to him are in connection with prayer, sacrifice, the carrying out of the orders of the gods, the performing of the religious rites at funerals.

So in Book IV:

"At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit."

IV, 393 ff.

where he obeys Jupiter's command to start for Hesperia, although he wanted in his heart to remain with Dido; so in the beginning of Book V (26) where Palinurus says that the winds prevent

their following the given course and Aeneas yields to fate; so later in Book V:

"Tum pius Aeneas numeris abscindere vestem
auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas." V, 685.

where he prays Jupiter to avert the fire from the fleet; so in the beginning of Book VI (9) where he seeks the temple of Apollo while his companions pitch camp on the shore and prepare the feast; so twice later in the same book (176 and 232) where he is shown carrying out the commands of the Sibyl (Apollo) about the rites of the funeral of Misenus; similarly in the beginning of Book VII where Caieta has just been buried:

"At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis
aggere composito tumuli . . .";

so in Book VIII (84) where he carries out the orders of the River God Tiber and sacrifices the white sow to Juno; so in Book XII (75) where before the battle with Turnus he calls upon Jove in prayer.

The first of the six examples where there is no direct relation to religious observance comes in Book I, 220:

"Praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti
Nunc Amyci casum gemit . . ."

where Aeneas mourns the fate of his companions whom he believes lost in the storm — a connection in which the meaning of *εὐσβεΐα* would at least not be out of place. The second is the line:

"At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens," I, 305,

where the *pius* seems to suggest that Aeneas prayed as well as planned during the night. In any case it does not jar. The third is:

"Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit
Graminum in campum . . ."

where, in the games the boat race has just been finished and the foot race is about to start,— and all the games were a religious rite performed in memory of Anchises.

The other three examples (X, 591; X, 783; XII, 311) all come in the midst of battle scenes and have been the most criticised. Here it must be remembered that Aeneas all through the last days of the struggle with the Latins, was fighting, severely and mercilessly to be sure, to avenge the death of Pallas. And even Augustus took bloody vengeance for the murder of Caesar.

Also in a battle scene comes one of the two cases in which Aeneas refers to himself as *pius*:

"At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit
et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago;
'Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, teque parentum
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto'" X, 821-38,

where he has just killed Lausus and has been moved by the boy's bravery (*patriae pietatis imago*). *Pius* here may mean "pitying" but it would be much more forceful taken with the lines

" . . . teque parentum
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto,"

and so to convey the idea of religious observance.

The other case in which Aeneas refers to himself as *pius*

"Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
classe veho mecum . . ." I, 378,

has been somewhat discussed above. Here the religious idea in *pius* is justified by the relative clause, as many editors have pointed out. It should also be remembered that he knows that he is talking to a goddess, although he does not realize that she is Venus. Witness the famous: *O dea certe*.

The actual epithet *pius* is applied to Aeneas by his companions only three times: once by Entellus during the games in honor of Anchises (V, 418), once by Aletes responding to the plea of Nisus and Euryalus to be allowed to try to win through the Latin camp (IX, 255), once by Evander speaking of Aeneas having per-

formed the funeral rites of Pallas (XI, 179). The last certainly has a religious idea behind it and the other two have nothing to make this inappropriate. All these are in the Homeric manner and it is surprising that there are not more instances.

Five times however he is referred to as *pietate insignis* or the equivalent. First:

"Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis." I, 545,

where Ilioneus speaks to Dido about Aeneas; again:

"Vade ait O felix nate pietate . . ." III, 480.

where Helenus says farewell to Anchises; again

"Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
Si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago
at ramum hunc . . ." VI, 403 ff.,

where the Sibyl introduces Aeneas to the guardian of the lower world; again:

"et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet
Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam." VI, 768 f.,

where Anchises is showing Aeneas his descendants; again:

"ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
hic pietate prior . . ." XI, 292.

where the embassy is reporting to Evander Diomedes's idea of the Trojans.

Two of them refer specifically to Anchises (III, 480; VI, 402) and in the others there is no positive indication as to their meaning. Yet in each case *pietas* is contrasted with *arma* — the more strongly contrasted the better.

It is plain from these examples that although the meanings *pius in patrem, in filium, in patriam, in amicos* are not excluded by Vergil that they are very rarely specifically included. On the other hand he does distinctly emphasize the idea *pius in deos* —

εὐσεβής. To find an equivalent English word is difficult and Professor Glover says that it is untranslatable. "God fearing," "God serving," "holy" have all been suggested and Conington uses the rather weak "good." It undoubtedly means "pious" in the best sense, but this word has with the modern high school student such a connotation of self exhibition and superciliousness that it is not serviceable here. All things considered it is perhaps best to render it by "devout," understanding the devotion to God and high ideals typified by Socrates.

There are many reasons why Vergil should have wished to convey this idea of Aeneas' character. In the first place he was too careful an antiquarian and scholar to ignore this traditional side of his hero's character. Moreover his skill as a writer showed him that it would be a tremendous help in strengthening his plot, and so in holding the interest of his readers. The main plot in the *Aeneid* centers in the opposition of the angry Juno to the leader of the Trojan race, the leader who was destined by fate to become the founder of Rome. This opposition is heightened and our sympathy for the hero increased by the realization that he deserved well at the hands of the gods, and this realization would have been even keener with a Roman reader.

In this connection, Nagelsbach (*Gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 110, Munich, 1838), says: "In the very beginning of the *Aeneid* we are placed in a position to recognize that the plot of the poem is motivated by a world interest, that the Roman people were following in the footsteps of Aeneas, that he was dealt with as a living type, for in the character given to the hero (I, 544),

'rex erat Aeneas nobis quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis'

the two principal counterparts of the still unstained Roman civilization, the *religio erga deos* and the *virtus bellica*, are absolutely plainly set forth. The Roman reader, and especially he for whom the *Aeneid* was especially meant, namely Augustus, must have felt himself as it were drawn into the plot of the poem and moved by the destiny of the hero."

Augustus' interest in the *Aeneid* is well known, and if one dares

to disagree with Sellar (Vergil, 34 ff.) he was probably the actual model about whom the poet built the character of his hero. This would explain the extreme care with which Vergil handled the epithet *pater Aeneas*, making it mean the ruler and guide of his people, for though Augustus was not officially designated as *pater patriae* until much later, he must have been hailed as such very early in his reign, as perhaps in Horace (Odes I, II, 50), *Hic ames dici pater atque princeps*. This would also explain the use of *pius* in the sense of "religious." We know that Augustus prided himself of his piety from the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which is filled with references to the vows he paid, the sacrifices he offered, the temples he built and restored. It speaks, near the close, of the golden shield hung up in the Curia Julia: *quem mihi Senatum Populumque Romanum dare virtutis, clementiae, iustitiae, pietatis causa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem*. — "which the inscription on this shield testifies that the Senate and Roman people gave to me on account of my valor, clemency, justice and piety."

On the Latin side the words *pietatis causa* were too fragmentary to be clear, but Mommsen considers them an absolutely accurate restoration, and it is notable that the Greek side of the Monument renders them *διὰ εὐσεβείας*. This shield with its inscription recording Augustus' piety was presented to him in 27 B.C. — at which time Vergil was first beginning serious work on the *Aeneid*.

There is another important piece of evidence as to the meaning of *pius* as applied to Aeneas by Vergil and the relation of Vergil's *pius Aeneas* to Augustus. Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, written at the command of Augustus and with the honoring of Augustus as its principal object, has the lines (36-52):

"Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliaeque
litis Etruscum tenuere turmae,
iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
sospite cursu,

cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
castus Aeneas patriae superstes

liberum munivit iter, daturus
plura relictis:

di, probos mores docili iuventae
di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
et decus omne!

Quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,
impetret, bellante prior, iacentem
lenis in hostem!"

In these lines there are at least three definite and important reminiscences of the *Aeneid*: the fact that Aeneas is called *castus*, which the lexicons show must here mean "religious" as it does in the line in the *Aeneid*:

"hac casti maneant in religione nepotes" (III, 409),

(and *castus* is as near to *pius* as the Sapphic meter allows:) the fact that Augustus, sacrificing, is called "the descendant of Anchises and Venus" and *bellante prior*. With this one should compare the line of the *Aeneid*:

"nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis"

and with the *lenis in hostem* the famous lines from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." VI, 851 ff.

If Horace intended this part of the *Carmen Saeculare* as a compliment to the memory of Vergil, who had died just two years before it was written, a compliment which the emperor would have appreciated, it would be conclusive evidence. In any case does it not show that Horace associated Augustus with the *Aeneid* and that he understood *pius Aeneas* to mean "devout Aeneas"?

PLAUTUS AND SHAKESPEARE—FURTHER COM-
MENTS ON *MENAECHMI* AND *THE COMEDY*
OF ERRORS

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To Mr. William Connely's petition in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for February that Shakespeare be not made a mallet to flatten out every other dramatist, I would add a hearty amen. I would add also a counter prayer, which is that other dramatists, ancient or modern, be not misused to the disparagement of Shakespeare's genius. To discredit either Shakespeare or Plautus by a comparison of *The Comedy of Errors*, the only classical comedy which Shakespeare wrote, and *Menaechmi*, one of the most spirited of the Plautine farces, is illogical and futile, for the two plays were written under conditions entirely different and served audiences as remote as the poles. Shakespeare was never an originator of plots. For his *Comedy of Errors* he borrowed from Plautus quite unblushingly, just as he turned to Plutarch's *Lives* for his Latin tragedies, to Holinshed's *Chronicle* for his histories, and to numerous romances, story collections, and older plays for his tragedies and romantic comedies. But if in his sole classical farce he did pour his romantic Elizabethan wine into an ancient Roman flask, he did so, certainly, because such containers were in vogue with the audience he was addressing, and not because he was trying to better the shape of the vessel. Shakespeare would have been amused, I think, and perhaps even amazed, at any implication that he was trying to "correct" or "improve" upon Plautus.

Mr. Connely lists "ignorance of Plautus" as one of the obstacles which have impeded the path of most critics who would compare the two plays. Ignorance of Shakespeare might just as

certainly be listed as another obstacle; and by ignorance of Shakespeare I do not mean lack of acquaintance with the text of *The Comedy of Errors*, but a failure to understand the romantic spirit of Elizabethan comedy and the dramatic form which that spirit assumed. No comparison of the Latin and the Elizabethan play can be sound which is based on the assumption that Shakespeare tried on the whole to copy Plautus, and that he is weakest where he is least skillful as an imitator. In certain respects his imitation of Plautus is unmistakable; but *The Comedy of Errors* exhibits fully as much of the Elizabethan as of the Plautine influence, and if those details of the play which differ from *Menaechmi* be examined in the light of Elizabethan dramatic convention, it will be seen, I think, that they are to be accounted for not as points at which Shakespeare capriciously made ill-advised and disastrous departures from the Plautine model, but rather as points at which the Elizabethan influence predominates. It will not be possible in a brief article to develop the whole of this thesis; I choose, therefore, to comment on those details in which Mr. Connely says that Shakespeare is inferior to Plautus.

First, regarding the twin servants. In *Menaechmi*, writes Mr. Connely, Plautus "focuses the dilemma on two characters, the twins; he economizes in his cast. But Shakespeare adds the servant twins, and by just that much he dilutes the force of his situations." Now it may be questioned, to begin with, if Shakespeare did add the servant twins. It seems to me far more probable that he got the idea from another of the Plautine comedies, *Amphitruo*, in which both twin masters and twin slaves appear, artificially created, to be sure, but unmistakably duplicates. To support this view we may compare the barring out scene in *The Comedy of Errors* (Act III, Sc. 1) with the scene in *Amphitruo* where Sosia, returning to his master's house, finds his office and his very form and name usurped by Mercurius. In the English play Antipholus of Ephesus challenges the visiting Dromio thus:

What art thou that keepest me out from the house I owe?
Dromio of Syracuse [within]: The porter for this time, sir, and
 my name is Dromio.

Dromio of Ephesus: O villain, thou hast stolen both mine office and my name.

Similarly poor Sosia discovers his double standing guard at the door and exclaims (l. 292 ff.) :

Sed quis hic est homo quem ante aedis video hoc noctis? Non placet.

Later he engages in a spirited tilt with the interloper (ll. 378-84).

Mercurius. Quoius es?

Sosia.

Ergo istoc magis,

Mercurius.

Amphitruonis, inquam, Sosia.

Quia vaniloquo's, vapulabis: ego sum, non tu, Sosia.

Sosia.

Peccaveram:

Nam Amphitruonis socium ne me esse volui dicere.

It may be reasoned, therefore, that if Shakespeare is to be accused of causing needless complications by using in one play two sets of twins, he had in Plautus himself sufficient justification for the practice. But if need be, the twin servants may be explained on grounds entirely Elizabethan. One of the stock situations in Elizabethan comedy — not only in Shakespeare's but also in other plays — is that built on the relationship between a master and his clever servant. In dozens of plays the body servant is employed as a confidant, and the dialogue between master and man provides part of the wit of the play, like the exchange of "cracks" between "interlocutor" and "end-man" in a modern minstrel show. That each of the leading male characters in *The Comedy of Errors* was supplied with such a servant is, therefore, almost to have been expected in a farce-comedy, and making the servants themselves twins not only adds to the fun by giving a twist of mistaken identity to many of the dialogues between the Antipholuses and Dromios but is entirely in keeping with Shakespeare's practice of creating characters in harmonizing pairs — as he does, for example, with the two parallel sets of brothers in *As You Like It*. Mr. Connely suggests that part of the superi-

ority of *Twelfth Night* lies in the fact that it contains only one pair of twins. *Twelfth Night* is, of course, vastly superior to the earlier play, but this superiority does not depend upon the "restraint" displayed by Shakespeare in using only two twins instead of four, six, or eight. Only two twins are needed in the latter play; in Viola's twin brother, Sebastian, Shakespeare has provided a mate for Olivia where at the climax of the play the love triangle finds its resolution in a stable square.

In other particulars in which Shakespeare differs from Plautus the Elizabethan influence may also be seen. Take, for example, the introduction into *The Comedy of Errors* of Luciana, the calm sister of Adriana, the shrewish wife of Antipholus of Ephesus. It is hardly correct to say that she "merely adds a love incident for the groundlings." Such a love incident she does add, to be sure, but she also supplies for her jealous sister a far better foil or contrast than the Senex of *Menaechmi* supplies for Mulier. It is a characteristic of Shakespeare's dramatic art to bring on his characters in pairs so that one may set off the other. The impetuous, unthinking Laertes, for example, is brought into spiritual and even physical opposition to the sluggish, reflective Hamlet; and in *The Comedy of Errors* the easily disturbed wife is the opposite of the phlegmatic sister.

The sister plays still another rôle; she completes the Jack-and-Jill division of principal male and female characters. *The Comedy of Errors* is one of two or three comedies of situation which Shakespeare has created. The humor in it is broad and depends not upon fine characterizations but rather upon the comic disturbances created by a series of mistaken identities. Shakespeare's romantic and pastoral comedies, on the other hand, are all dependent upon the higher comedy of love combats. This may be said, indeed, to be the prevailing mood of Elizabethan comedy. Just as the tragedies of the Elizabethans usually end with loss of crown and life, so do their romantic comedies usually end with the marriage of as many pairs of lovers as can be swept into the concluding matrimonial tableau — an ending, it may be said in passing, which is hardly Plautine. The Elizabethan

romantic comedy begins, therefore, with lovers separated, proceeds with their courtships and difficulties, and concludes with their happy union, or, if they are married lovers, as in some of the comedies of Shakespeare, with their reunion. Now *The Comedy of Errors* is not a romantic comedy, and no lovers' plot, therefore, intrudes into the main action. Nevertheless, classical farce though it is, the play shows the undeniable stamp of the typical Elizabethan romantic comedy. In the morning of the eventful day during which all the incidents occur the following situation exists: Aegeon and Aemilia, the aged parents of the Antipholuses, are separated; Antipholus of Ephesus and his wife Adriana are at outs; Antipholus of Syracuse and Luciana have not yet met. Before sundown we find the three couples all happily united in the approved fashion of the Elizabethan romantic comedy. Now if Luciana had not been substituted for the Senex of Plautus, one Jack would have been left without a Jill, and the conventional romantic tableau at the end would have been incomplete. Under such a convention Plautus, of course, never labored.

The reason for Shakespeare's introduction of the aged father and mother, who Mr. Connely thinks are unnecessary characters, I have indicated in part in the preceding paragraph. The prologue-conclusion of the play, in which these two figures appear, is stiff enough, it must be admitted, but it nevertheless has a definite function to perform. Prologue and conclusion are the coördinate parts of the frame within which the main action takes place. Aegeon's condemnation and final pardon and restoration to Aemilia do not create a plot; these incidents merely supply an enveloping situation for the farce proper, a situation which provides by its pathos an artistic contrast with the rollicking episodes of the farce itself. This situation-envelope is not at all unlike that in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and many other Elizabethan comedies. It can hardly be argued that any play, Plautine or Elizabethan, which opens with what is really a long monologue covering the antecedent action, begins "with swift strokes." The Aegeon monologue — for it is nearly that — is really more Plautine than Elizabethan in spirit. The circumstance

that in *Romeo and Juliet* and other plays which Shakespeare wrote at nearly the same period as *The Comedy of Errors* the action begins with rapidity and vigor shows that his sluggishness in getting started in the farce-comedy was not that he lacked skill even in this early period of his development.

Mr. Connely is quite correct in his statement that the characters in Shakespeare's play do not all show the sharpness of definition of those in the Plautine farce. For this lack of color there are two reasons: Shakespeare had not yet learned to characterize well, and this comedy depends for its humor upon situation and not upon characterization. The Antipholuses are pretty wooden, their superiority over the Menaechmi being moral rather than artistic, and few of the other characters of the play are distinctive. Shakespeare's figures are English, or perhaps neutral, rather than Greek or Latin. One that is mentioned by Mr. Connely is distinctly English. For the Medicus of Plautus Shakespeare has substituted "one Pinch, a hungry, lean-faced villain," who is a country schoolmaster. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* Shakespeare introduces a comic physician, Dr. Caius, a Frenchman, but a more frequent satirical type with him is the Elizabethan Ichabod Crane, like Holofernes of *Love's Labor's Lost* and our friend Pinch. The country-bred Shakespeare had sufficient acquaintance with this type to insure an accurate caricature. But there was probably an even better reason for his shift from the Medicus to the schoolmaster. The Elizabethans believed that ghosts and evil spirits, like the one which was thought to have possessed Antipholus of Ephesus, could be exorcised by conjurations in Latin. "Thou art a scholar," said Marcellus, the soldier, when the ghost appeared, "speak to it, Horatius," (*Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 1). Similarly Adriana addresses Pinch:

Good Doctor Pinch, you are a conjurer;
Establish him in his true sense again,
And I will please you what you will demand. (IV, 4)

Here again Shakespeare has not been trying to improve upon Plautus by substituting one character for another, but has assigned

the task of conjurer to a character with which he and his Elizabethan audience were more familiar.

In the preceding paragraphs I have not attempted to show that *The Comedy of Errors* is a great farce-comedy. On the contrary, it is one of Shakespeare's least successful plays, short and immature, clumsy in some places and flat and colorless in others. I have tried, however, to demonstrate that although the play is frequently thought of as an imitation — none too successful — of *Menaechmi* of Plautus, it is really very far from being merely an English copy of a classical comedy. In it the spirit of Elizabethan romanticism is encountered at every turn, and many of the characters and situations which may seem at first to be capricious or unskillful departures from the Latin model were really never intended to be classical, but are something quite different — the inbreathing of a different spirit in a different age.

IMPRINTS OF SAPPHO¹ ON CATULLUS

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As Sappho among the Greeks is first in love lyrics, and as Catullus is first among the Romans, we may with reason hope to discern reminiscences of the Tenth Muse elsewhere than in the too familiar Catullus 51. In both poets you of course expect many similar allusions to the goddess of love, but it is more striking to notice how Catullus catches from Sappho the beauty of the evening star, how like Sappho he adorns his poems here and there with a flower. The flower stands out as an exquisite decoration in little, looking heavenward, while Hesperus, shining down, calls into being a whole landscape. However in a more pervasive aspect the Latin makes common melody with his model, that is, in spirit, details, and structure of his wedding songs. You discover that Greek and Roman marriage feasts carried out certain customs quite alike, but you see further that Catullus injected into the rites a Lesbian enthusiasm. Here is a sort of worship of the grace of youth; Catullus would have his Rome share the repute of Greece in that appreciation.

If it be objected that the tattered extant lines of Sappho are pitifully meagre for anyone to explore in an effort to drive Catullus into the open, let it be remembered that every line of Sappho was worth imitating. No less a critic than Longinus held her greatest in choosing and in combining. Yet the imprint of Sappho's ideas, or of her references to nature, is more perceptible than translation or juxtaposition of words. The poetess in her Ode to Hesperus has "Fairest of all the stars" (*Frg.* 32), while in Catullus 62, 26, we find *Hespere, qui caelo lucet iucundior ignis*. Again, Sappho, "Hesperus, bringing back all . . ." (*Frg.*

¹ The translations in this article are from the edition of Edmonds.

149) is comparable to *Vesper adest . . . tandem lumina tollit* (62, 1). Here Catullus finds sympathy with the beauty of nature in Sappho's inspiration. The picture in both poets is acutely graphic.

Catullus takes a great deal of his bride and bridegroom merriment from the island lyricist. Her ninth book, the wedding songs, seems to have been the Roman's guide for certain of his long poems in such details as the refrain *Hymenaon* (*Hymen*) (*Frg.* 148), suggesting the "Hymen o Hymenae" in Cat. 62. It is however not a wedding song, but another love song of the fifth book of Sappho which has "Praxinoa, roast us nuts" (*Frg.* 82), and a similar allusion appears in *da nuces pueris, iners concubine* (61, 127-8). Then, when we come upon this picture, though only one line (*Frg.* 67) in Sappho, "Maids ripe for wedlock wove garlands," who can help being reminded of the pomp and circumstance of Catullus' long poems? But the Song of Solomon echoes both in Sappho and in Catullus, for example (*Frg.* 158, Bk. IX):

"Thy form, O bride, is all delight;
Thy eyes are of a gentle hue;
Thy fair face is overspread with love;
Aphrodite hath done thee exceeding honor."

matchlessly vivid though without a figurative phrase, seems to reappear in Catullus (61, 188-91) with the addition of a simile:

"Uxor in thalamo tibist
Ore floridulo nitens,
Alba parthenice velut
Lutuenive papaver."

But the notable trick of using one flower, in comparative isolation, for emphatic figurative effect, would appear to originate in these lines (*Frg.* 151) from the Book of Wedding Songs: "Like the hyacinth which the shepherd tramples underfoot on the mountain, and it still blooms purple on the ground." Now, compare *talīs in vario solet . . . divitis domini hortulo . . . stare flos hyacinthus* (61, 97-99). Also worth observing here is

Sappho's *Frg.* 97 "They say that once upon a time Leda found hidden an egg of hyacinthine hue." The ancients found the hyacinth as fitting to their purposes as the nightingale; (the nightingale, incidentally, Sappho and Catullus adapt to motives quite different: the former has, for example, "Lovely-voiced harbinger of spring, the nightingale," *Frg.* 138, while in the latter we find, 65, 13-14, *qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris. . . . Daulias absumpti fata gemens Ityli.*) However, the force of the metaphor of the single flower standing apart is the pretty device which Catullus, evidently with Sappho's mountain hyacinth in mind, uses more strikingly than in the above instance of the rich man's garden, when in 11, 21-23, he writes *meum . . . amorem, qui illius culpa cecedit velut prati . . . ultimi flos.* It makes a vast measure of difference whether you merely say, with Virgil (*Aen.* IX, 433), *flos succisus aratro*, or whether, with Sappho and Catullus, you specify a certain flower and no other. *Prati ultimi flos* has all the pathos, without the suggestion of sentimentalism, of "the last rose of summer," or, of Wordsworth's "fair as a star when only one Is shining in the sky."

Speaking of roses, Philostratus in his *Letters* says, "Sappho loves the rose, and always crowns it with a meed of praise, likening beautiful maidens to it." He seems to have in mind that rather haunting line of the poetess, "Hither, pure rose-armed Graces, daughters of Zeus" (*Frg.* 68). Catullus has at least a consonant picture in 55, 12, *En hic in roseis papillis.* But since the rose is perhaps the commonest allusion in the verse of any poet whatever, and only less common are the lily and the violet, it is hardly as safe to try to establish imprints in such instances as in the case of the hyacinth. And even then, a more important consideration is that, generally, both poets make continual use not only of flowers, but of the same flowers. Further, Sappho emphasizes the beauty of one apple, on the topmost bough, out of reach of the pickers (*Frg.* 150), and the beauty of the rustling apple-branches by the water-side (*Frg.* 4), while Catullus (65, 19) refers to the apple as a treasured love-token.

To point out scattered likenesses of similarities here and there

in poems of varied burden has little enough moment, I grant, but when we come to examine side by side two long poems on the same subject we should be able to find, if Catullus be a real disciple of Sappho in instances other than his *Ille mi par esse deo videtur*, collected details which ought to make for more definite kinship. To begin with, Catullus' longest poem, 64, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, has the same motive as the longest fragment of Sappho's, 66, which we have, namely, the marriage of Hector and Andromache. Both poems have a nautical opening: Hector and his comrades bring Andromache from Thebe to Ilium by ship, as Peleus and the other Argonauts returning from the Colchian expedition to Thessaly bring back Thetis by ship. In Sappho, a herald brought "these fair tidings unto the people of Ida . . . and throughout the rest of Asia these tidings were a fame that never died" (ll. 1-4). In Catullus, *Quis simul optatae finito tempore lucas . . . advenere, domum conventu tota frequentat . . . Thessalia* (ll. 31-2). Sappho has, ll. 8-10, "many are the golden bracelets, and the purple robes, and the fine smooth broideries, indeed a richly-varied bridal-gift; and without number also are the silver goblets and the ornaments of ivory." Catullus says the wedding guests bore gifts, but the descriptive phrases of Sappho he uses rather to depict the palace of Peleus:

"Ipsius at sedes, quacumque opulenta recessit
regia, fulgenti splendent auro atque argento,
candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensae,
tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza.
pulvinar vero divae geniale locatur
sedibus in mediis, Indo quod dente politum
tincta tegit roseo conchyli purpura fuco.
haec vestis priscis hominum variata figuris
heroum mira virtutes indicat arte." (42-49.)

The whole atmosphere is identical in its richness of color: gold, silver, purple, ivory, embroidery. Then Catullus interrupts the nuptials for about 250 lines with the Ariadne episode. With the arrival of Chiron, leading other guests down from Pelion, and

bearing woodland gifts, the ceremonies proceed. As Chiron's sweet-scented garlands (278-84) add to the festivities, so in Sappho do cassia and frankincense. You see a pageant in each poem: Sappho gives you the women and the slender-ankled maidens in the mule-wagons, the daughters of Priam riding apart, the men and young men in chariots drawn by horses, all accompanying Hector and Andromache into the city; Catullus seems to copy this procession, but in the Latin version of the parade he puts Chiron, Peneus, Prometheus with his scars (a master touch), and as a culmination, Jupiter and Juno with all their sons, except Phoebus, who with his sister Diana had sent regrets upon receiving an invitation to the wedding (ll. 280-300).

Sappho concludes, "Meanwhile the elder women raised a loud cry, and all the men shouted a delightful song of thanksgiving . . . and hymned the praise of the godlike Hector and Andromache." Catullus continues, *cum interea infirmo quatientes corpora motu . . . veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus* (305-6). And so like Sappho he goes on to "hymn the praise" of Peleus and Thetis. Book II of the Greek ends at the above point, apparently, but if we had the first part of *Frg.* 66, the part preceding the arrival of the herald, it is more than likely that additional resemblance to Catullus could be noted. At any rate, the spirit of Catullus' final hundred lines, and the references to Hesperus, to the Trojans, to the happy bride and bridegroom, are quite in the Sapphic manner. For example, *Frg.* 47 (*Oxyrhynchus* 1231, 56), even without the conjectured restorations which by the way are quite plausible, reads "we maidens spend all night singing of the bride whose breast is sweet as violets." Here we have the end of Sappho's Book I, and both in Catullus 64 and in his other long poems such nuptial circumstance recurs not infrequently.

When we think of Catullus we perhaps think first of Lesbia, while when we think of Sappho we have to recall Ovid's epistle XV if we would think definitely of Phaon. To embark upon a comparison of the treatment of the passion of love in these two poets would involve a separate voyage. I have tried rather to

observe resemblances in the selection of celestial and of earthly beauties, neglecting a further avenue of approach to Sappho through some seventy-five more or less illuminating allusions to her life by other Greek and Latin writers. If one is tempted to draw the long bow in detecting a direct bearing of Sappho on Catullus, if one should remember that a case might be made out for, say Horace, by citing some of the same Greek passages, inasmuch as certain references to nature are favored by many poets, one nevertheless can rest on the judgment that of all lyricists, Catullus, heart, mind, and soul, is closest to Sappho's sympathies. I should hold it a more difficult task to contend that Catullus had based his imagery elsewhere, and as for twisting it from within himself, even Dean Swift would have listed Catullus as a bee rather than as a spider. Catullus ever was too deeply an artist, not to say too professional, to neglect to imitate, and in especial to imitate one whom all ancient critics agreed was the sovereign model the world could boast.

THE HILL OF SUCCESS

By SAMUEL E. BASSETT
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One of the scenes on the shield of Achilles, described by Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthomerica*, V, 6-101), is quite unparalleled in the long series of pictures on armor, which the Greek epic loves to depict. It represents the Hill of Arete. "On the work of the god's hands was wrought the Hill of divine Arete, very steep and rugged. The goddess, too, was there, standing on the top of a palm tree, high aloft, reaching toward the sky. All round the mount narrow paths, blocked by cliff after cliff, denied an easy approach to men: multitudes were turning back, awe-struck by the steepness of the ascent, and only a few were mounting with sweat the holy road."

Arete in this picture is not a moral quality, nor does she personify merely the peculiar excellence of the warrior. She stands for Success, which in the epic means fame and honor. Odysseus, filled with remorse because his success in the contest for the arms of Achilles has caused the suicide of Ajax, says (*Posthomerica*, V, 589 ff.): "I little thought that he would grieve so much, and be angry after the contest was over. I strove not with him for a woman or a city or wealth's broad estates; nay, for me the prize was honor (arete), for which right-minded men battle ever with delight."

Quintus was pleased with his concrete conception of Success; he recurs to it twice and develops two features of the picture, the distance of the goal, and the difficulty in reaching it. In the advice which the shade of Achilles gives, Polonius-like, to his son (XIV, 189-209), this passage occurs: "No man can reach the goal of Arete unless he has the right purpose in his heart. Her trunk is hard to climb, and her branches grow far up into the

sky. But everyone whom strength and hard work attend will reap the joyous fruit of toil, winning to the top of the tree of fame, where Arete wears her glorious crown." In this picture Success is likened to a date palm the fruit of which can be plucked only after an arduous climb (cf. Pollux, I, 244, "The palm tree may be described as 'towering,' 'lofty,' 'rugged,'" all three adjectives connoting difficulty); in the words of Nestor to Neoptolemus (XII, 292-296) glory is represented somewhat less pictorially as being at the end of a dreary and painful road: "The gods have placed woes at men's side, and joys far away. Between these they have stretched labor. Hence young men easily find the way to wretchedness and ruin, but the road to fame is full of pain till one has trodden with many a groan the pathway through the Plain of Toil."

Where did Quintus find his idea of the Hill and the Tree of Arete? Tychsen thinks that it was all his own fancy, "a grammarian's dream." Of course the two roads mentioned in the last passage remind us of Heracles at the Crossroads in the allegory of Prodicus (Xen. *Mem.* II, 1, 28), and the whole passage is reminiscent of Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 287 ff.: "One can have wretchedness in abundance and without effort; her dwelling is very near, and the road to it is smooth. But the immortal gods make men sweat before reaching Arete. Long and steep is the path that leads to her, and rugged at first; but once thou hast reached the summit the road grows easy in spite of its difficulty." The closeness with which Quintus has paralleled these verses of Hesiod is seen at a glance: he has expressed identical ideas in slightly different language.

Koechly believes that Hesiod and Prodicus are the only sources traceable for Quintus's picture of the mountain and the palm tree in the other two passages.¹ I wish to call attention to a more immediate and probable source for the mountain, and to suggest a possible origin of the picture of Arete in the palm tree.

To confine our attention for the present to the mountain, we

¹ Koechly adds that in V 53 there is an echo of *Iliad*, XVIII 565, and there certainly is another, to *Iliad*, IV 299, in the third passage (XII 293).

notice that in the Hesiodic passage the suggestion of a mountain is only implicit: the way to Arete is pictured as a steep and difficult road which grows easy after one has topped the grade. There are no cliffs to surmount, nor is our attention called to the multitudes who turn back and the few who reach the goal. Both of these ideas are found in the *Tabula* of Cebes. Quintus was probably familiar with this dialogue, for it was so well-known during the late centuries of antiquity that Lucian twice calls its author "famous" and uses his allegory (*de merc. cond.* 42; *rhet. praecept.* 5). In the center of the painting described in the *Tabula* is the Home of Happiness, which occupies the acropolis of the three circles of life. Happiness herself is seated on a throne upon the Propylaeum, and with her are all the Aretae. When True Education brings a man to Happiness, the latter crowns him as one who has won a victory in the most celebrated games (Ch. XXI, XXII). The description of the road to True Education (Ch. XV) is particularly suggestive of the Hill of Arete in Quintus:

"What is this road that leads to True Education?"

"Do you see that spot up there [in the painting], where there is no habitation, but it seems to be deserted?"

"Yes."

"Do you see a little gate, and before the gate a road *which is not thronged with folk; on the contrary, very few take it, for apparently it is thought to be impassable, a rough climb over rocks?*"

"Yes, indeed."

"It looks to be a *high mountain, approached by a very narrow trail, which is flanked on both sides by precipitous cliffs*, is it not?"

"Yes."

"This," said he, "is the road to True Education."

The italicized words show the closeness of the parallel to the first passage which we cited from Quintus; in the *Tabula* we have the original of our mountain, with its forbidding approach and its paltry few who reach the summit. We even have a figure (Happiness), seated aloft on the mountain, and a crown bestowed on him who gains the height. But where did Quintus find the idea of Arete in the top of a palm tree? The following conjecture

is offered without much emphasis on the probability of its being a certainty.

Arete in Quintus is almost synonymous with Nike, and the palm was the commonest reward of the victor (Paus. VIII, 48, 2). There was a temple of Arete in Smyrna (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 25, 26). So far as I know there is no evidence that can be drawn from our knowledge of a statue of Arete or Virtus, which would link it with the picture which Quintus draws of Success standing in — or on — the top of a palm tree. But the fact that he calls the road to Arete "holy" (V, 56) might well indicate that he was familiar with a personification of Arete, as worshipped in the temple in Smyrna. May it not be possible that the Victory above the olive tree in the representations which owe their origin to the west pediment of the Parthenon suggested to some late artist the idea of placing Nike or Arete or Virtus on the top of a palm tree? Perhaps the archaeologists can help us to answer this question.

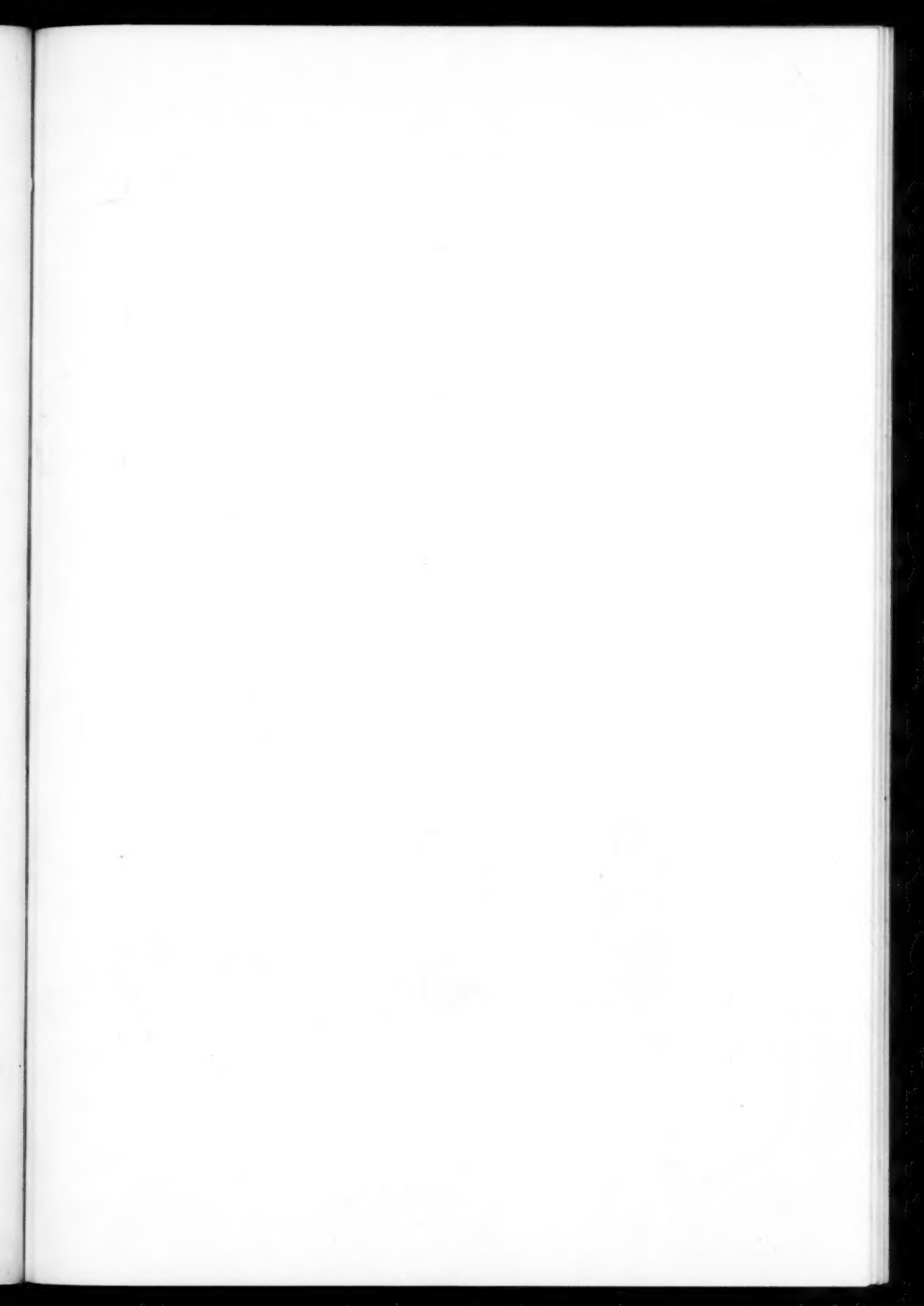
Neither the Home of Happiness, nor the Hill or the Tree of Arete, seems to have had any influence in shaping the various allegories of life so common in western literature. Dante shows no trace of them. If Spenser had known of them we ought to find some echo in the *Faerie Queene*, but we do not. Of course it is natural for poets and moralists to conceive of the road to the goal of all our strivings as uphill and beset with difficulties. But neither the Hill of Difficulty in *Pilgrim's Progress*, nor the hill in George Herbert's *Pilgrimage*,² nor other arduous climbs in the journey of life that are doubtless to be found in post-classic literature, have been shown to owe any debt to Quintus or to Cebes.

It is interesting to notice that very recently a scientist has used an allegorical representation of Success which is very like that of Cebes and Quintus (Vladimir Karapeloff, Honorary Professor of Electrical Engineering in Cornell University, in an address to Westinghouse employees, reprinted from *The Bridge* in the

² For Bunyan's sources, see especially J. B. Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of Bunyan's Allegories*, Johns Hopkins Dissertation, 1904. I am indebted to my friend, Professor Frederick Tupper, of the University of Vermont, for calling my attention to this study and also to George Herbert's *Pilgrimage*.

Literary Digest for July 5, 1924, p. 28): "In Fig. 2 the difficulties in spinning one of the main threads of activity [in life] are illustrated in the manner of climbing a hill, as in *Pilgrim's Progress*." In this modern *Tabula* the high tablelands of Success are reached only by those who unite hard acquisitive work with original thinking. But the modern Hill of Arete shows an immeasurable advance over that of Quintus. In Professor Karapeloff's diagram posts are placed at different points along the arduous ascent, and from these the successful climber *drops ropes to assist other strugglers*. Quintus no more thinks of helping others to gain the height than did Odysseus think of the effect which his success in the Contest for the Arms would have upon the defeated Ajax. Whether the distinguished professor was aware of it or not, his idea of assistance in the climb, which he has colored with the modern conception of the early Christian doctrine of service to others, is found in Cebes (*Tabula*, Ch. XVI): On the mountain stand two fair women, Self-Mastery and Persistence, with eager arms stretched out towards the strugglers. They descend as the latter approach the precipice, and pull them up to the top. Then they bid them rest; they give them strength and courage, and promise to lead them to True Education.³ Today, science, by all but mastering distance, has partly removed one of the difficulties from the approach to Success, and social coöperation is taking some of the terror from the other obstacles that confronted the ancient individualist.

³ Lucian (*Hermotimus*, 3) evidently had this passage in mind, as certain verbal echoes indicate. Hermotimus says: "The road [to Virtue—Hesiod's Arete, cf. the previous section of the dialogue] is rough and slippery, and I need a *helping hand*." Lucinus replies: "Your teacher can give you that: from the summit above you he can drop down his teachings, a golden rope like the cord of Zeus in Homer. So you must not lose courage; you must fix your eyes on the goal of your journey and the *happiness* there, and keep a stout heart." I have not cited this as a parallel to Professor Karapeloff's allegory, because in Lucian's dialogue the sequel proves that the teacher of Hermotimus is doing anything but "lend the helping hand."





THE AMERICAN SCHOOL IN ATHENS

Residence of the
Annual Professor

Residence of the
Librarian



THE GENNADEION LIBRARY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

By WALTER MILLER
University of Missouri

The American School in Athens is the first, the American School in Rome the second, of the various institutions founded and fostered by the Archaeological Institute of America for the promotion of scholarly work in the heart and center of the interests to which each of our schools is devoted. The dedication of the wonderful new Gennadeion in the spring of 1926 will celebrate also the forty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the School.

For nearly half a century the School in Athens has been realizing the purpose of its founders, making it possible for graduates of American colleges and universities to study the language and literature, the history and geography, the art, and the monuments of Greece in Greece itself, increasing the knowledge, strengthening the scholarship, and enriching the experience of the many who in these forty-four years have availed themselves of the advantages afforded by the School. Just to spend a year in Greece, in intimate association with the Parthenon and the other great monuments of the Age of Pericles, with the Dionysiac Theatre, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the Cephissus, the Academy; to tread the ground once trodden by Themistocles and Sophocles and Socrates, Demosthenes and Plato and Xenophon; to visit Delphi and Olympia with Pindar and Simonides; to revel with the Bacchae on Parnassus and Cithaeron; to fight again on the very scenes the battles of Marathon and Salamis and Thermopylae — any one of these privileges is worth all the time and all the money it costs to claim them.

Not only has the American School in Athens enriched the

scholarship and the lives of its students; it has also added very considerably to the world's knowledge of things Greek. Our excavations at Thoricus, Eretria, Eleutherae, the Argive Heraeum, Corinth, and our work on the Parthenon, Erechtheum, and Propylaea have made contributions to archaeological and historical science of which any institution might be justly proud.

When the School began its work in 1881 it occupied a rented apartment not far from the northeast base of the Acropolis. In the spring of 1887 was laid the corner-stone of the present school building well up on the slopes of Mount Lycabettus, with a view that takes in most of the modern city, the Acropolis crowned by the peerless Parthenon and its forest of pillars, the Athenian plain from Hymettus to Aegaleus, Phalerum and Piraeus, and Salamis and Aegina in the Saronic Gulf.

The growing needs of the School necessitated some ten years ago an extensive addition to the east wing of the building, in which the Library is located. The west wing contains the apartment of the Director and rooms accommodating seven students; the annex, close by, has rooms for eight or nine. The new Hospice, an enterprise of the American Association of University Women, under the leadership of President M. Carey Thomas, will eventually take care of all the women students.

But the glory of the American School in Athens is the new Gennadeion, now nearing completion, the home of the great Gennadios Library. This unique collection of books and things Greek, "without its equal in the world," it may be fairly claimed, is a gift to the School from his Excellency, Johnannes Gennadios, dean of the Greek diplomatic service. Dr. Gennadios has devoted a long life-time and stinted nought of his wealth to make the library what it is. He might have given it (it could hardly have been sold, for it is beyond all price) to the British Museum in London, where he has resided for forty years or more, or to the National University of Greece or to some other institution in the capital of his native land. But, while attending the Disarmament Conference in Washington in the spring of 1922, he generously decided to present it to the American School of Classi-

cal Studies in Athens. The Library itself, the gift of Dr. Gennadios, the site on which it stands just across the street from the School, the gift of the Greek Government, and the magnificent building, the gift of the Carnegie Corporation, will be a *monumentum aere perennius* not only to Johannes Gennadios and his famous father, George Gennadios, but to the spirit of friendship and international co-operation that has marked the relations between Greece and the United States since the days of the Greek struggle for independence. This invaluable addition to the facilities of the School will be available for our research students with the beginning of the present summer.

The regular school year of the Athens school runs from the first of October to the first of June. This year the Managing Committee of the School and the Bureau of University Travel have joined forces to conduct for the first time a summer session. Summer sessions have come to be an indispensable part of every well regulated American institution of learning. Our Schools in Rome and Athens are to be no exception. The work, covering a period of approximately six weeks, will be conducted along the lines of the regular session, and the trips will include all the most important places in Greece proper and some of the islands.¹

The advantages of the Summer Session of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens should appeal strongly to teachers and students, graduates of American colleges, interested in classical studies, both Latin and Greek. For Latin literature, prose as well as poetry, teems with allusions to things Greek; and even a summer in Greece will illumine every Latin page.

The American School will issue a certificate recommending credit in the Graduate Schools of American Universities for work satisfactorily completed, as may be evidenced by note-books and examinations. Some institutions have already signified their willingness to accept such credits toward advanced degrees.

¹ [The Director of the first Summer Sessions (1925 and 1926) is to be the writer of this article, Professor Walter Miller, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Missouri, a member of the School in 1885-6, annual professor at the School for 1925-6, and in various years director of many groups of Classical students in Greece. — Editor.]

Arrangements for registration in the Summer School may be made through Professor Edward Capps of Princeton, Chairman of the Managing Committee, or the Bureau of University Travel, 11 Boyd St., Newton, Massachusetts.

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT THE SERVICE BUREAU¹ FOR CLASSICAL TEACHERS

By FRANCES E. SABIN, Director

- Q. Will the Bureau be continued after the end of the present school year?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Are the activities of the Bureau local in their nature or are they intended to be useful to teachers at large?
- A. The Bureau is designed to be a clearing house for the country as a whole.
- Q. Just what does the term "clearing house" mean in actual practice?
- A. That the director collects from all possible sources whatever is available in the way of professional information, or concrete material likely to prove useful to teachers of the classics in secondary schools, and, as far as the resources of the Bureau permit, sends it out in answer to requests.
- Q. Can such a collection of material be made without the intelligent co-operation of many persons?
- A. It can not.
- Q. What success has the director had in obtaining such co-operation?
- A. Far more than was expected when the Bureau was started. A very considerable number of teachers are now helping in various ways.
- Q. Has all of the material been put in such a form that it is available for teachers outside of New York City?
- A. Only a very small portion of it has been put in mimeographed or printed form so that it may be mailed.
- Q. Why is this?

¹ Maintained by the American Classical League at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

- A. Because it is only within the last few months that sufficient funds have been at hand for printing; and, too, because the director cannot possibly attend to the editing of all of it.
- Q. Just what material may now be secured?
- A. One hundred and twenty items in mimeographed form, ten *Latin Notes Supplements*, and one formal Bulletin. All of these are listed in the current issues of the *Notes*, and in a pamphlet which will be sent out upon request.
- Q. May these be purchased or only borrowed?
- A. The *Supplements* and the *Bulletin* are sold for a nominal price as are the articles in mimeographed form. The latter, however, may also be borrowed upon payment of postage.
- Q. Has the demand for such material been large?
- A. Yes. During the current school year up to Feb. 27, 10,558 *Supplements* were sold and considerably over 10,397 articles sent out upon request. This number does not include those which are being circulated in the form of Package Libraries by the Extension Divisions in eight universities.
- Q. What is meant by the *Latin Notes*?
- A. This is a four-page leaflet published by the Bureau eight times a year, the subscription price of which is 50 cents.
- Q. Are the *Supplements* included in the subscription to *Latin Notes*.
- A. No.
- Q. How may State Service Centers profit by the use of the Bureau?
- A. By purchasing at a reduced price any of the material which the Bureau is lending to teachers and adding it to their own loan collection. But teachers who wish to buy the material instead of borrowing it should procure it directly from the Bureau.
- Q. In what way other than that just indicated may the Bureau be useful to Service Centers?
- A. By lending the resources of the Bureau in the way of detailed information, material, and suggestions to individuals or groups of individuals who are preparing material for use in the state.

- Q. What aid does the Bureau desire from Service Centers?
- A. Copies for its files of any material which has been found helpful in the state and co-operation on the part of teachers in projects undertaken by the Bureau.
- Q. Will material sent in by State Centers be sold by the Bureau?
- A. Not without the permission of those who contribute it.
- Q. How may instructors in charge of courses for the training of teachers derive help from the Bureau?
- A. By keeping at hand copies of *Latin Notes* and its *Supplements* and drawing upon the resources of the Bureau for whatever teaching material they consider helpful for their students.
- Q. Has the Correspondence Department of the Bureau been found useful to teachers?
- A. Yes, if one may judge from the number of letters received which ranges from 20 to 80 per day.
- Q. Are these letters interesting as showing phases of the Latin situation in various parts of the country?
- A. Decidedly so.
- Q. Is there any fee for making use of the Service Bureau?
- A. No, but it is expected that those who find the Bureau a convenient means of assistance will help to support it by subscribing to the *Notes* and by co-operating whenever possible.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

CICERO, *AD FAMILIARES*, XIII, 1

A passage in one of Cicero's letters affords an interesting glimpse into the land tenure of the municipalities of his times. Writing to Brutus then in command of Cis-Alpine Gaul, he says: "Doubtless you know to what municipality I belong, and how carefully I am accustomed to serve my fellow townsmen of Arpinum. All of their resources and income, by which they are able to perform their religious rites and keep up the repairs of their temples and public buildings, depend upon the rent which they receive from lands which they own in Gaul".¹

There are instances of other towns which, like Arpinum, had land holdings in distant provinces. Massilia,² the modern Marseilles, held land both in Gaul and Spain, Capua³ owned territory in the island of Crete near the city of Gnosus, and Atella,⁴ a neighboring town to Arpinum, had possessions in Cis-Alpine Gaul.

The question arises as to how these towns came into possession of their land. An interesting conjecture is that some general, after winning marked victories and conquering vast territory, granted land to municipalities in which he was especially interested. In the case of Massilia there is direct evidence of this. The city held an important position, being the point of entrance to and exit from Gaul. It was friendly to Rome and had constantly received favors since the time of the Punic Wars. In the Gallic and Spanish Wars it had helped the Roman generals and had been rewarded by both Caesar and Pompey. Hence in the succeeding civil wars both of these generals expected aid. After Pompey fled from Italy into Spain, Caesar started after him and was chagrined to find that Massilia had closed

¹ Cic. *Fam.* xiii. 1.

² Caes. *B. C.* 8. 34, 35 (both chapters complete).

³ Vell. *Pat.* ii. 81, 2.

⁴ Cic. *Fam.* xiii. 7. 1.

its gates and would not allow him to go through. He sent for fifteen leading men of the town and after presenting his case, demanded that they let him through. These men carried the demands back to their townsmen, returned, and reported, in the words of Caesar⁵: "We understand that the Roman People are divided into two parties. It is not for us to reason which side has the more just cause. The leaders of the two sides are Gnaeus Pompey and Gaius Caesar, both patrons of our state, — one of whom officially granted us the land of the Arecomani and of the Helvii; the other, after conquering the Sallyes by armed force, has assigned to us their territory and increased our revenue. Wherefore it is our duty to remain neutral."

The Arecomani were a powerful tribe who lived between the Rhone River and Narbo in Gaul. The Helvii lived further north on the west bank of the Rhone. Caesar conquered these and assigned their territory as noted. The conquest of the Sallyes was made by Pompey, perhaps on his way to the Sertorian War in 77 B. C. Accordingly, the territory owned by Massilia lay far distant and was widely separated.

Capua owned land in the island of Crete and this was assigned by Caesar Augustus. When a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, he quelled it partly by force and partly by generosity. The generosity consisted of a grant of land belonging to Capua, situated in its immediate vicinity. To reimburse the city, Augustus assigned it land in Crete. Of this Vellius Paterculus⁶ writes: "A noteworthy addition was made to Capua, whose lands were publicly owned. In exchange for these, lands far more fertile in the Island of Crete were given, lands bringing in twelve hundred times as much money."

Dio Cassius⁷ speaking of the same incident writes: "Augustus bought a large tract of land in Capua from its inhabitants and gave it to his soldiers. In return he gave to the Campagnians the Gnosian territory, the use of which they still enjoy."

Strabo⁸ in his Geography says: "There are still many cities in Crete, but the largest and most distinguished is Gnosus." And again:⁹ "At present Gnosus has a Roman colony."

From these passages we can get a suggestion as to how Arpinum

⁵ *Caes. B. C. i.* 34, 35.

⁶ *Vel. Pat. ii.* 81, 2.

⁷ *Cas. Dio xlix.* 14, 5.

⁸ *x.* 7.

⁹ *x.* 10.

came into possession of its land. Some friend of the little country town, or perhaps some native, having land at his disposal, and wishing to honor his birthplace, would naturally make a grant of land. Who were the men able to do this for Arpinum? Two such stand out clearly, for the glory of Arpinum rests on the fact that it produced two famous men, Marius and Cicero. The latter in his oration for Plancius the Orator¹⁰ says: "If you are in the company of any citizen of Arpinum you most likely will be forced to listen, however much you may dislike the subject, to something about me or my brother, and most certainly to something about Marius."

Marius had land at his disposal, for he made extensive conquests in Gaul. That he did make grants to cities is seen in Plutarch,¹¹ who tells how Marius in his last consulship joined with the tribune Saturninus in passing a law for the division of land. A passage in Appian¹² gives the location of the land: "A law was brought forward in the sixth consulship of Marius in 100 B. C. to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe lately driven out by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and no longer considered Gallic, but Roman territory." Further on Appian¹³ continues: "As the law gave the larger share to the Italians, the people in Rome were not pleased with it."

When Cicero wrote about the land in Gaul belonging to Arpinum, he may have had in mind some of this territory ceded by Marius.

A second conjecture is that Caesar may have given the land. That he set a precedent of giving land may be seen in his account of granting the land to Massilia. What motive, however, would impel Caesar, a native of Rome, to bestow such a prize on a distant little municipality? To be sure he was a nephew of Marius and may have wished to honor his kinsman by a benefaction to his birthplace.

A more probable conjecture however is that Cicero procured the land for his birthplace. While Cicero was never a general, he had strong influence, his voice at Rome being equivalent to the modern press. The interesting thing to note is that the careers of Caesar and Cicero ran parallel. When their later days are taken into consideration, it does not seem possible that a friendship could have existed to such a degree as to have permitted favors either to be given or

¹⁰ *Plan.* viii. 20.

¹¹ *Marius* xxix. 1.

¹² *B. C.* i. 2. 9.

¹³ *Ibid.* i. 2. 9.

received. It was only natural that Caesar should have sought Cicero's favor, however, for in no other way could he receive more publicity than to be well spoken of by the popular orator. Also there is much evidence that he greatly admired Cicero. In an oration Cicero¹⁴ declared: "Caesar as consul adopted measures in which he wished to have me for a partner, and if I was opposed to the measures themselves, still I could not avoid being pleased at the opinion of me which he displayed by that wish. He wished me to be one of three men of consular rank most closely connected with himself, and he offered me any lieutenancy or embassy I wished, with as much distinction and honor as was agreeable to me. All of these offices I refused with great firmness in my own sentiments, but not without being obliged to him."

As to Caesar's actual request that Cicero should be one of the men who formed the triumvirate there is no further mention in the ancient historians. But Cicero speaks again in a letter to Atticus¹⁵ of Caesar's overtures to him to join with him and Pompey and Crassus in their partition of the power between them. The incident is of no great importance except that it shows the feeling of the men for each other at this time.

In the letters between Cicero¹⁶ and his brother there is frequent mention of the honors and munificence which Caesar bestowed upon both of them. To a friend Cicero wrote¹⁷: "I have the advantage of Caesar's popularity, which you know to be very great, and his material resources, which you know to be immense, as if they were my own."

Hence it is certain that at one period the two men were great friends. That Caesar did bestow material gifts on the other seems very certain, judging from the number of times the orator speaks of the generosity of the leader and his own sense of obligation. As a public man, Cicero could not well accept gifts for himself, and it was natural that he would use them for his birthplace. The conjecture cannot be verified, but it throws a very interesting light upon the leading events and personages of the times.

EVELYN A. CLEMENT

SACRAMENTO HIGH SCHOOL, CALIF.

¹⁴ *De Pro Cons.* xvii. 41.

¹⁵ *Att.* ii. 3 whole letter.

¹⁶ *Q. Fr.* ii. 13. 1.

¹⁷ *Fam.* i. 9. 12.

CAESAR ON THE CAUSES OF MUTINY

Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* i, 40, 11: Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturo dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam.

This passage raises the question why a commander's *avaritia* should endanger the loyalty of his soldiers. It can hardly be, as some editors seem to think, that they objected to avarice as a defect of character. This would misinterpret the Roman soldier completely. His objection to official greed was based on the fact that it affected his own interests adversely, not that he required moral integrity in his leaders. The point is, in what way did the soldier regard the commander's *avaritia* as an injury to himself? The subject has been much neglected by both commentators and historians. Benoist suggests that Caesar was thinking of the misappropriation of money intended for military supplies, while T. Rice Holmes¹ holds that the reference is to the sale of centurionships by the commander. Both practices are authenticated by Cicero,² who adds one or two other examples of the greed of military chiefs. The impression made by these practices was no doubt exceedingly unfavorable, but Cicero gives no intimation that they ever resulted in mutiny. The point of Caesar's allusion, I think, lies elsewhere.

The Roman legionary soldier at this time received 120 *denarii* a year (increased under Caesar to 225) from which he had to meet certain charges for equipment. As the service was voluntary, there must needs be other inducements to render it attractive as a career. Sallust thinks this began with the Civil War,³ but it certainly goes much further back. According to Livy it was the inducement that led thousands of time-expired veterans to take service under Scipio Africanus for the expedition against Antiochus,⁴ and in the war with Perseus many enlisted, "seeing," as Livy says,⁵ "that those had become rich who had served in the former Macedonian war or in Asia against Antiochus." It would be easy to multiply instances. An

¹ *The Roman Republic and Founder of the Empire*, ii, 31 (note).

² *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* xiii, 37.

³ *Bell. Cat.* xi, 5; *Plut. Sulla*, xii, 8-9.

⁴ xxxvii, 4.

⁵ xlii, 32.

instructive one is mentioned by Appian⁶ when Pompey took over the command against Mithridates and the soldiers under Lucullus were ordered to disband on penalty of having their property confiscated. The order was obeyed by all but a few who were poor and did not fear the penalty. The second Mithridatic war was really begun by Murena for plunder, and the subsequent operations furnished opportunities that were not neglected.

As a rule both soldiers and their leaders were bent on personal aggrandizement, but it was important that the latter should not keep everything for themselves. Those who did so were guilty of avarice, and their soldiers, cheated of what they regarded as their legitimate rewards, were easily led into revolt. Caesar's *innocentia* was his honesty, his square dealing. Applied to the present situation it was an assurance to his men that he would treat them fairly in the matter of spoil and the opportunities for profit. He intended, to be sure, to enrich himself, but not at the expense of their poverty.

It is often said that in this speech Caesar shows wonderful psychological insight. No doubt he does. It was a part of his greatness that he understood men and especially the Roman soldier. But his acumen did not consist, as a German military critic characteristically thinks, in his telling the legions that the details of the campaign were none of their business. This is to miss the whole point. Caesar understood the Italian frugality and love of gain, and that if his men had confidence in his leadership and at the same time had a prospect of substantial rewards, he need have no fear of their loyalty. Well led, they would fight even the Germans as an incident in bettering their material condition. It is the recognition of these motives (along with his appeal to the *esprit de corps*) that constitutes Caesar's insight.

Caesar must have had in mind specific instances of generals who had lost control of their troops through greed. It is virtually certain that he is referring (among others) to Lucullus whose *avaritia* as commander was notorious. While he was still in the East the tribunes of Rome accused him of prolonging the war in order "to enrich himself from the public dangers".⁷ He was not always ungenerous to his soldiers, as he showed in allowing them to plunder Tigranocerta and in giving 800 drachmas to each man from the gen-

⁶ *Mithr.* 90.

⁷ *Plut. Lucullus*, xxiv, 3.

eral spoil. At Amisus he endeavored to restrain the troops from pillaging the burning city, but as Plutarch relates, "the soldiers all clamored for the booty and shouted and clashed their shields and spears together until he was forced to let them have their way." In general Lucullus did not accept the soldiers' standpoint that pillage and spoil were legitimate accompaniments of their service. It is the testimony of Sallust that he had trouble with his men on this score from the very beginning. The situation culminated in the revolt of the Fimbrians who, in throwing off their allegiance, shook their empty purses in their commander's face and bade him fight the enemy alone since he alone of them knew how to get rich. It was the issue (with its inevitable outcome) of a general who wanted everything for himself and nothing for his men, who lacked in a word the Caesarian *innocentia*. It was this issue that Pompey, as Lucullus's successor, knew well how to avoid, since "in his eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honor."

JEFFERSON ELMORE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Λύκει' ἀναξ—SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 203

In his admirable book on Delphi, Frederik Poulsen says "Lykegenes' can mean nothing else but 'he who is born in Lycia'. The old grammarians understood that, but the poets, and probably simple folk too, in the course of time forgot the derivation and interpreted it as meaning 'son of the wolf'."¹ In going through the commentaries on passages in which the epithet Λύκειος is applied to Apollo, this latter interpretation is constantly found given with more or less elaboration. Reference is usually made—and quite rightly too—to Aeschylus, *Septem* 145 and Sophocles, *Electra* 6-7. It is rather curious, however, to note what slight recognition the local significance of Λύκειος has received at the hands of editors in this connection. Thus Jebb in his note on *Oedipus Tyrannus* 203 connects the word with the root λυκ- meaning light and in his note on 208 —Λύκει' ὄρεα δίδασσε—says that 'the Lycian hills are named here in order to associate Artemis more closely with her brother under his like-sounding name of Λύκειος. At Troezen there was even a temple of Ἀρτεμις Λυκεία — a title apparently intended to mark her as the feminine counterpart of the Λύκειος θεός.² What association could be more natural,

since she is the daughter of Leto whose name, in its oldest form is naturally derived from the Lycian word for woman, "Lada."³ Poulsen does not mention the fact that outside the prayers of Chryses in the first book of the *Iliad*, the only other prayer addressed to Apollo in the entire poem is that of Glaucus, a Lycian hero. As in many other prayers of the *Iliad* the god is first of all localized—*κλυθι, ἀναξ, ὃς πον Λυκίης ἐν πίοιι δήμῳ εἰς ἣ ἐνὶ τροίῃ*.⁴ Certainly this fact may also be added to the others which Poulsen has brought together to show that Apollo is Asiatic in origin, not Greek, and that his original home was Lycia, whence the cult of his mother Leto spread to other parts of Asia Minor.

Hesychius and the *Etymologicum Magnum* are referred to by Poulsen to prove his statement that the old grammarians understood the original significance of this epithet. It will not do, of course, to insist on the original meaning of *Λύκειος* in passages in which that meaning has been entirely lost sight of — as in the verses of Aeschylus and Sophocles referred to above. On the other hand, there can be no doubt, as I believe the quotation from Jebb clearly shows, that some passages can be better interpreted if we keep that meaning in mind.

EUGENE J. STRITTMATTER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

¹ *Delphi*, p. 2. (Gyldendal, London). Cf. *Apollo*, a lecture delivered by Wilamowitz at Oxford, June 4, 1908, and published by the Clarendon Press; also *Hermes*, vol. 38, pp. 575-586.

² Jebb, R. C. — *The Oedipus Tyrannus*. Edited with Introduction and Notes, Cambridge U. P. 1912 (School Edition).

³ Poulsen, *ibid.* and Wilamowitz's lecture, p. 31.

⁴ XVI, 514-515.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly new—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Los Angeles.—Following the custom of several years' standing, the students of the classical department of the Los Angeles High School held a Roman banquet in the cafeteria of the school on the afternoon of January 16. About seventy-five guests in Roman garb, many resplendent in military accoutrements, sat down to the tables. The program was wholly in Latin and included speeches by various students personating various Roman worthies.

Several girls gave, in a Latin version which they themselves had made, the scene in the home of Praxinoe depicted by Theocritus in his fifteenth *Idyl*.

Last year the students of the California Institute of Technology belonging to the local chapter of Pi Kappa Delta gave two performances of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles in English. This year they turned their attention to comedy and selected Terence's *Phormio* for presentation. It was given in Culbertson Hall at the Institute, January 30 and 31 and achieved a high success. It is certainly an event worthy of comment when students of a technical school undertake the interpretation of a classical play. But the California Institute has always required its students to give a fair share of their attention during their college course to cultural studies.

Canada

Toronto.—The first Classical Conference to be held in Canada took place in University College, University of Toronto, on Friday and Saturday, Feb. 20-21. Being something of an experiment, especially in the middle of a term, it was uncertain what degree of success was possible, but the outcome surpassed all expectations. Teachers and professors were present from various parts of the province and local friends turned out enthusiastically. At the opening session, Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University and also a scholar of Classical training, introduced Professor Robert J. Bonner of the University of Chicago, who spoke on "Oratory and Litigation in Ancient Athens." This was followed by a round table on the study of Greek which proved so animated that it was renewed, contrary to programme, after lunch in Hart House, and was forcibly adjourned again at four o'clock to meet in the Royal Ontario Museum.

On Friday evening in the Physics Building there was a public session, Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario and Chancellor of the University, presiding, when Professor G. L. Hendrickson of Yale read his paper on "Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics."

On Saturday morning in University College, Principal Hutton being Chairman, Professor F. W. Shipley of Washington University spoke on "Virgil in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," and Professor B. L. Ullman of Iowa on "Recent Tendencies in the Teaching of Latin." A large audience of teachers, professors, and laymen was present at this session and unanimously adopted a motion that paves the way for an organization embracing all Canada. Lunch followed in Hart House and all dispersed with deep appreciation of the assistance rendered by the visiting scholars and renewed confidence in classical studies.

Illinois

Chicago.—The second quarterly meeting of the Chicago Classical Club was held at the Hotel LaSalle on February 14. The program consisted of a "Report on the Etymological Dictionary," by Mr. A. W. Smalley, chairman of a committee appointed by the club to compile such a dictionary as its contribution to the work of the Classical Survey.

The paper of the meeting was read by Professor F. J. Miller, president of the club, on "The Thirteenth *Aeneid*."

The undergraduate classical club of the University of Chicago has been very active this winter. During the month of March just past it entertained four classical clubs of its own founding from four neighboring city high schools, gave a classical program in a private school in Lake Forest, and a Roman Banquet on its own grounds in Chicago.

Alton. — Miss Lou V. Walker, of Shurtleff College, writes: "We give a teacher's course with four hours credit in our department here at Shurtleff College.

"While our department is small, we have four enthusiastic and capable girls in the teacher's class this semester. They are enjoying the privilege of becoming acquainted with the aims defined by the recent Classical Investigation and the content and methods of a course based on those aims."

Massachusetts

Cambridge. — The Eastern Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England held its eighteenth annual meeting in conjunction with the classical club of Greater Boston at Cambridge on February 7, with a record attendance of about 150 present. The program follows: In the absence of the president, Mr. Frederic Allison Tupper presided and made a short address of welcome. Mr. Edward H. Atherton, Boston Girls' Latin School, gave a paper on "Virgil's Reputation in the Middle Ages." Mr. John Kingsbury Colby, Milton Academy, discussed "Cross-Words in the Study of Latin." Professor Donald Cameron, Boston University, gave a most vivid lantern talk on "Cicero's Last Fight," as seen in his letters and the *Philippics*. Miss Frances E. Sabin, of the Teachers' College, Columbia University, described, with much illustrative material, the work of the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers. The meeting closed with an interesting lantern talk by Miss Harriet E. McKee, Walnut Hill School, Natick, on her experiences last year abroad: "Old Carthage To-day."

The following officers were chosen for 1925-1926: President, Miss Alice Walton, Wellesley College; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; Executive Committee: Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School, Professor George H. Chase, Harvard University, Edward H. Atherton, Boston Girls' Latin School, Professor Donald Cameron, Boston University, Dr. Fred B. Lund, Boston.

Boston.—Under the auspices of the Boston College Greek Academy, a virtual Hellenic Renaissance is planned at the beautiful Swiss chalet of the Philomatheia Club on the campus of the college. It is the purpose of the moderator of the society, Rev. Joseph M. F. Marique, S. J., to convey to the lovers of things Greek the dramatic legacy of Greece and to show how much we owe to the ancient masters.

A series of fourteen lectures is planned, extending from February 17 to June 2. Stereopticon views will aid the various lecturers and an abundant opportunity will be given for questions or discussions.

In addition to the regular lectures, the *Medea* was presented by members of the Academy, on Thursday, February 26. The subjects to be treated indicate that this is a rare opportunity for classical students of Boston and vicinity.

February the 17th—"Behind the Scenes" at Athens during the Greater Dionysia.

Joseph Francis Quane.

February the 24th—The Flesh, Bones and Informing Soul in the Greek Drama.

Daniel Hugh O'Leary.

March the 3d—Aeschylus the Majestic

Edwin James Bailey.

March the 10th—Sophocles the Artist

Joseph Mary Dolan.

March the 17th—Sophocles, the Perfect Reflection of the Greek Spirit.

William Ambrose FitzGerald.

March the 24th—Hamlet and Oedipus Rex.

Thomas Alfred O'Keefe.

March the 31st—The Normal Ideas of the Greeks and Oedipus Rex.

John Leo Keefe.

April the 7th—"Our Euripides the Human."

William Henry Marnell.

April the 28th—Echoes of the Ancients in the Modern Drama.

John Joseph O'Brien.

May the 5th—The Choral Odes in the Greek Drama.

Charles Andrew Hayden.

May the 12th—The Musical Accompaniment in the Greek Drama.

Walter Caleb Blankenship.

May the 19th—The Satyric Drama.

James Francis Walsh.

May the 26th—Aristophanes, the Flail of Athens.

Daniel Joseph Noonan.

June the 2d—Aristophanes' Successors.

John Joseph Buckley.

Missouri

Kansas City.—The Classical Club of Greater Kansas City met at its triennial dinner March 3. Dr. G. P. Baity told of his recent visit to Rome. Mr. Patrick Carr, registrar of the Kansas City School of Law, discussed "Classical Education in Ireland." Mr. C. E. Parker, assistant superintendent of Kansas City schools, led in the singing of Latin songs. The place cards made by pupils of Westport junior and senior high schools were Latin crossword puzzles.

Tennessee

Chattanooga. — The nineteenth annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at the University of Chattanooga on February 27 and 28. Papers from the program, selected for their special classical interest, were as follows:

"Plato's *Gorgias*," by *George B. Hussey*, Maryville College; "Classical Investigation," by *W. R. Webb, Jr.*, Webb School; "Roman Influence in Early England," by *President C. E. Little*, George Peabody College for Teachers; "Reorganization of the Content of Secondary Latin," by *R. F. Thomason*, McCallie School; "A Debt of Honor," by *Harriet Dale Johnson*, Tennessee College; "Claudian, the Court Poet," by *Nellie A. Smith*, Alabama State Normal, Florence, Alabama; "The Emperor Domitian," by *R. B. Steele*, Vanderbilt University; "The Forms and Spirit of Greek Literature," by *A. W. McWhorter*, University of Tennessee.

Washington, D. C.

A new College of Liberal Arts is to be opened by The American University, in Washington, D. C., next September. A full four-year college course will be provided, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Imposing buildings have already been erected on the ninety-acre campus in the northwestern part of Washington, and others are under construction. A faculty of sixteen experienced and well-known teachers has been secured.

The American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the American Classical League have formally approved of a plan for fostering closer relations with the leading philological and archaeological societies of Great Britain. One especially desirable thing would be a freer interchange of publications. To this end, the British societies are informing their members about the three American organizations — their objects, publications, terms of memberships, etc., — and a corresponding statement about the principal British societies is given here.

The three national organizations in Great Britain for the promotion of classical studies are, (1) the Classical Association; (2) the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies; (3) the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish high school teachers of Latin with material which be of direct and immediate help to them in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

Under the clever title, "Latin De-lusions," Miss Anna A. Raymond of Milwaukee-Downer Seminary, Milwaukee, Wis., sends an interesting collection. Get your pupils to find the errors (there are two in the fifth) ; they will enjoy it as much as cross-word puzzles.

1. There is something in the old story of Achilles. You reach down and touch the soil and you get the strength from it (Franklin K. Lane, in the *National Geographic Magazine*).

2. Harry Minor arrived Monday from Lincoln where he has been attending school, and will hibernate at the ranch during the summer vacation (Social Note from Grand Co., Neb., *Tribune*).

3. Mr. Cowland's timber is arriving, so his house will soon rise sphinx-like from the ashes of the old one (from a New Zealand paper).

4. *Hinc illae lachrymae* (*Boston Transcript*, Aug. 10, 1918).

5. A paragraph of happy comment on a "monogram", *esse quam videri*, found on carpets, table linen, etc., belonging to a line of British steamers. "I think," says the writer, "this is a superb motto for ship, home, church, preacher, lawyer, merchant, physician, homemaker, soldier, for true souls everywhere—to be what we seem" (*Christian Advocate*, June 20, 1918).

Parallels

A newspaper item which told how a surgical case had been successfully handled by allowing the patient to listen in on some music by radio reminds a correspondent of the words of Horace (*Carm.* II. 13. 37-38).

Quin etiam Prometheus et Pelopis parens
Dulci laborem decipitur sono.

A newspaper reports that a graduate student at Columbia was unable in twelve years time to conquer his fear of death and so he killed himself by leaping from a sixth story window.

This reminds one of Pliny's description of the panic caused by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius:

Erant qui metu mortis mortem precarentur.

Starting the Class Right

Miss Elizabeth Lawrence Fenton, of the Wheaton Academy, Wheaton, Ill., brings out a very important psychological point in the following communication:

The first few moments of a recitation period are all important because during that time the interest of the class may be gained or lost for the entire period. Accordingly I have found it well to vary the opening minutes of the classes.

Sometimes I ask the class a question or state a fact in Latin. On entering the room, the class may find on the board either a short story for sight translation or a punning riddle or two to be solved. Often I have on the bulletin board a picture of some monument of the Romans or a scene in Italy, and I explain in a few words what is represented. The members of the Latin classes are encouraged to search magazines for suitable pictures for this purpose and many have been brought to me.

At other times in each place the members of the class find a sheet of paper on which is written some simple direction as, "Decline *res*," or, "Write the principal parts of *vinco*, *video*, and *venio*." The papers are collected after the work is finished and are corrected by me after recitation hours. A new direction is written on the other side of each sheet of paper. The next time the papers are distributed, each pupil sees what mistakes he made the time before and notes the corrections. This device is not used often enough to become tiresome.

A one word test takes but four or five minutes and it is fun. For this slips of paper are distributed and I dictate eight or ten words to be written in Latin giving the directions: "Write the third person singular, perfect indicative active of *duco*," or "Write the accusative plural of the word meaning 'body'," and so on. As soon as the dictation is finished, I write the Latin words on the board and the pupils at a glance see the correct form. If one wishes to take more time for this, the members of the class may stand while the teacher spells each form. As soon as a word is spelled which a pupil has written incorrectly, he is seated. The class enjoys seeing who remain standing when all the forms have been spelled.

The pupils enjoy singing a verse or two of a Latin song at the beginning of a recitation and sometimes they find the words of a new song waiting for them on the board. These they copy and learn.

Sometimes we play "beast, bird, fish," but I call the name of a part of speech, as noun, adverb, etc., and then count rapidly to five or ten in Latin. This always puts the class on the alert, and it is wide awake for the serious duties of the day a moment later.

These devices have been found helpful in arousing interest and in making the class ready for work. One should be careful not to use the same method of beginning the class more than twice in succession, and from time to time it is well to start the class at once on the lesson proper.

Courses of Study

Additions to previous lists of published courses of study in Latin are the following:

University of California, University High School, by C. C. Conrad, Grace M. Mason, Marian L. Wilson; published in the *University High School Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (50 cents a copy; address *University High School Journal*, Oakland, Calif.)

New Jersey, *The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the High Schools*, *Education Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 4. Department of Public Instruction, Trenton, N. J.

Latin Clubs

Miss Julie LeClerc Knox of the Crawfordsville, Ind., High School writes:

Latin Clubs are almost a necessity to socialize the background and vitalize the subject. We now have three. Our Classical Club is now the oldest and largest club in the High School. It has a membership of about one hundred. All Latin students are eligible to membership. The chief aim of this organization is to inspire underclassmen with a desire to go on with their Latin.

The Plus Ultra Club is for more advanced students and meets fortnightly at the regular class time. Originally its membership consisted of both Virgil and Cicero pupils, but this year the Cicero class was too large for a combination as many had conflicting schedules, so the Cicero class formed a class of their own which they waggishly christened the Cui Bono.

The Classical Club is invariably opened by the president's giving the command in Latin to arise and give the flag salute in Latin, which they have worked out themselves. A Latin translation of America is then sung. These two numbers form a sort of ritual which the members seem to think it would spoil the charm to omit.

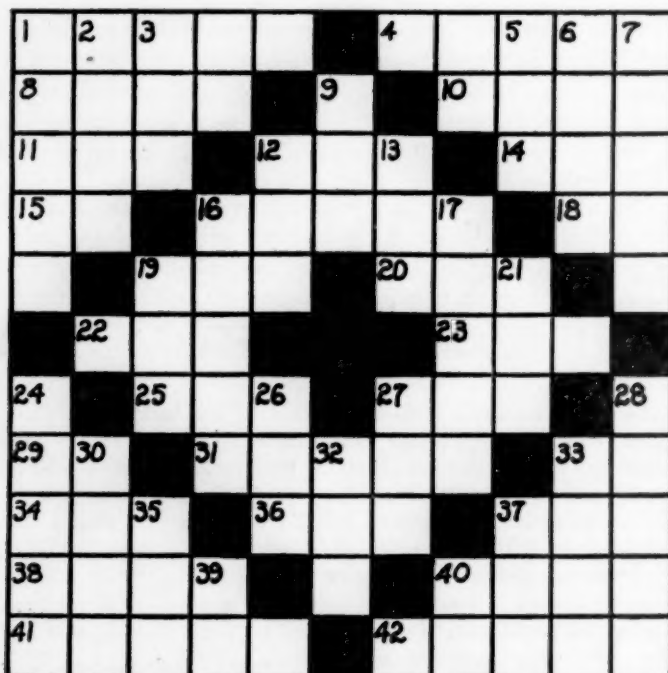
The two advanced clubs do more dignified and individual work. The members take Latin names and are usually required to answer to roll-call with something of Roman interest. The presidents give both their inaugural and farewell addresses in Latin which the secretary copies on the board. Then the club criticizes vocabulary and grammatical structure.

The CLASSICAL JOURNAL often furnishes material for discussion. Mythology, biography, history, literature and art engage their attention. Susan Paxson's *Handbook for Latin Clubs* is very suggestive in making programs.

Crossword Puzzles

So many puzzles have come in (too many to acknowledge individually) that two are given this month.

The first is by Henrietta Jansen, a member of the Cicero class of West Night High School, Cincinnati, Ohio (Eleanor R. Ashfield, teacher). The second is by Professor Charles D. Utt of Atlantic Union College, South Lancaster, Mass.

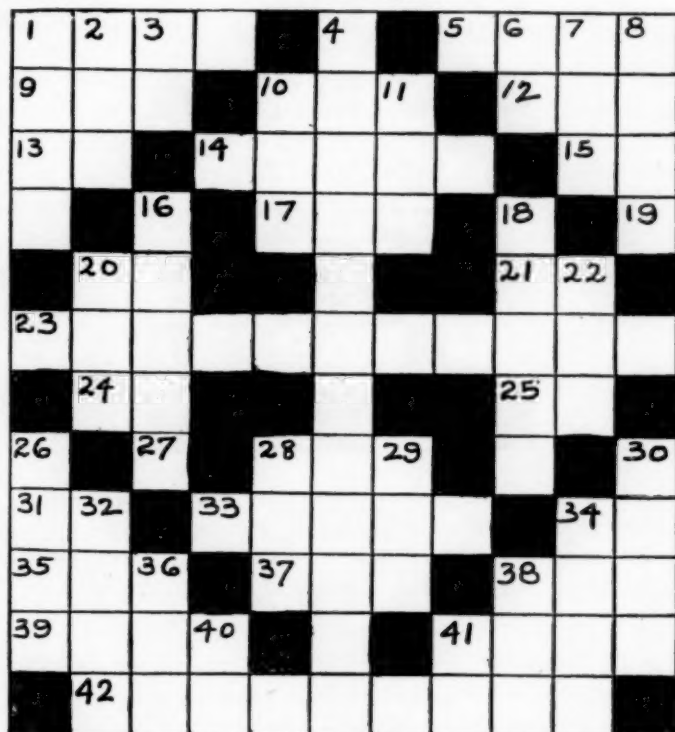


TRANSVERSUM

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ianua | 18. Saepe ante | 29. Illud |
| 4. Quies | "publica" positum | 31. Expecto |
| 8. Pater patris | 19. Proficiscatur | 33. Dono |
| 10. Numerus | 20. Filius Noe | 34. Cibus Infantium |
| 11. Contentio | 22. Dicit | 36. Existens |
| 12. Enim | 23. Qui antecedit et | 37. Fiam |
| 14. Dea a Iunone in | quem alii | 38. Nomen dei amoris |
| bovem conversa | sequuntur | 40. Percussu |
| 15. Praepositio | 25. Porcus | 41. Graviter |
| 16. Qui fert | 27. Metallum | 42. Dignitas |

DEORSUM

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Non occulte | 16. Non angustus | 28. Habitatio |
| 2. Poeta illustrissimus
(<i>anglice</i>) | 17. Retrorsum venio | 30. Tribuere |
| 3. Extra muros | 19. Illis | 32. Nando fugio |
| 5. Percussi | 21. Qui habet quattuor
pedes et caudam
longam | 33. Divem facio |
| 6. In usu habeo | 24. Pugnator | 35. Sedes animi
hominis |
| 7. Persuadeo | 26. Expectatione | 39. Num |
| 9. Satis | 27. Modus bene et pul-
cherrime agendi | 40. Eia |
| 12. Per aquam movet | | |
| 13. Consuetudo | | |



HORIZONTAL

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Tomorrow | 19. A preposition | 33. Likeness |
| 5. Very low | 20. A conjunction | 34. English name of a
river in Italy |
| 9. Bronze | 21. Mouth | 35. An abbreviation |
| 10. Thrice | 23. Bravest | 37. Love |
| 12. There | 24. Themselves | 38. Speak |
| 13. A conjunction | 25. To him | 39. A pronoun |
| 14. Form of the verb
"to be" | 27. An interjection | 41. Going |
| 15. He goes | 28. Altar | 42. Carry over |
| 17. Custom | 31. Latin abbreviation
used in English | |

VERTICAL

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sing | 16. What a drowning | 32. She will sew |
| 2. Thing | man might say | 34. Place |
| 3. A coin | 18. Name | 36. For what reason? |
| 4. Point out | 20. A pronoun | 38. Bring! |
| 6. A pronoun | 22. A pronoun | 40. Latin abbreviation |
| 7. Where | 26. I went | used in English |
| 8. Placed (<i>fem.</i>) | 28. Love! | 41. Latin abbreviation |
| 10. Then | 29. Drive | used in English |
| 11. Country | 30. Chance | |

ANSWER TO LAST MONTH'S PUZZLE



Correspondence in Latin

The following additional school wishes to correspond in Latin.
Bruce, So. Dak., High School (Margaret Weeks, teacher).

Book Reviews

Stoicism and Its Influence (Our Debt to Greece and Rome), by R. M. WENLEY. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1924. Pp. + 186.

It is a dangerous thing to ask a man of the profound learning of Professor Wenley to tell what he thinks of *Stoicism and Its Influence* in one hundred and seventy-one duodecimo pages. There is always danger that such a master of philosophy will forget that the average college graduate emerges from college with little philosophic and linguistic training, and will have difficulty in understanding what "hylozoistic" means. Very often this graduate has native mental gifts that would have placed him among the "spoudaior," if the college or university had furnished him with proper mental food. As it is, he is in sore need of a serum to protect him against the germs of "Fundamentalism," or it may be from the germs of a too mechanistic philosophy. We would have built for him a Porch adorned with pictures by Polygnotus, where there would be protection from the sun, and an atmosphere somewhat freer from dust, where some modern Zeno might teach him the way of life in words of one syllable. Our most serious complaint against Professor Wenley's book is that he did not assume, as Faraday used to assume, that his audience knew absolutely nothing. To use the language of the street, he has not backed up his truck at the exact point where there is the largest load to haul. Any intelligent person who reads the book with care, will be able to gather a very comprehensive knowledge of the central doctrines of Stoicism. The reviewer feels that this knowledge should have been presented in an orderly way in the first chapter, which is entitled *The Story of Stoicism*. If the doctrines embodied in the fragments of Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus and the Stoic portions of Cicero, had been carefully segregated, it would have been obvious that the pre-Christian Stoics were so many John-the-Baptists, building a "Porch for Christianity,"—or at any rate making the minds of men familiar with many of the ideas which were to reappear in the New Testament and Seneca and Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. Even our Fundamentalist brethren would

have been able to see without too great mental effort, that inspiration has not been limited to the Hebrew race. To all this Professor Wenley will answer with a smile: "This savors too much of propaganda; it is not the attitude of a true philosopher; you have the school-master's penchant for spending too many hours on the art of presentation. The chosen few will understand my message." And that is true. The book can be recommended to teachers of the classics, history, and philosophy as provocative, stimulating, and informing. And perhaps this is the audience to which Professor Wenley addressed himself.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

GRINNELL COLLEGE

Recent Books

- Apuleius. The Golden Asse.* Translated out of Latin by William Adlington, 1556. (Abbey Classics). London: Simpkins. Pp. 251. 6s.
- BRADSHAW, T. E. J. and PHILLIPS, G. G. *Latin Prose.* London: Longmans. Pp. 142. 3s, 6d.
- BROOKS, A. M. *Architecture.* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome). Boston: Marshall Jones. Pp. 189. \$1.50.
- CHASE, G. H. and POST, C. R. *A History of Sculpture.* (Harper's Fine Arts Series). New York: Harper. Pp. 582. \$4.75.
- COX, Sir W. M. *Tales of the Gods and Heroes.* (Nelson's Classics). London: Nelson. Pp. 286. 1s, 6d.
- CUNLIFFE, J. W. *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy.* New York: G. E. Stechert. Pp. 155. \$4.00.
- Euripides, Alcestis.* Adapted and arranged, etc., by Elsie Fogerty. Reprint. London: Allen. 1s, 6d.
- FORRER, L. *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek Coins founded by the late Sir Hermann Weber, M. D.* Vol. II. Text and portfolio of 101 plates. London: Spink & Sons. Pp. 580. 63s.
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